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16th PNC SESSION DECLARES:

Independent State, Exclusive PLO Representation

by Ghassan Bishara

As well as acclaiming the political resolutions of the PNC, the final session saw the resignation of the executive committee and the elections of a new 14-member body to guide the PLO until the next PNC. Abu Jihad nominated the new members, who were immediately approved by the council. They are: Yasir Arafat, Farouq Kaddoumi, Ahmad Yamani, Yasir Abed Rabbo, Abd al-Mohsen Abu Maizar, Ahmad Sudki Dajani, Talal Naji, Muhammad Khalifah, Abd al-Rahim Ahmad, Hanna Nasser, Muhammad Abbas, Hamed Abu Sitta, Jamal Sourani and Muhammad Nashashibi. Hanna Nasser was also appointed president of the Palestine National Fund. Yasir Abed Rabbo stated that the committee puts its trust and confidence in Yasir Arafat as its chairman. This was immediately approved.

SPECIAL TO AL FAJR — The main points of the final 16th PNC resolution were approved late Tuesday, February 22, after 10 days of intense debate: national unity and independence; exclusive representation of the Palestinian people by the PLO; yes to the Fez plan; no to the representation of the PLO by King Hussein; no to the Reagan plan; yes to the Brezhnev plan; a future confederation with Jordan only as an association between two independent states, to be implemented after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state; a mandate to the executive committee to deal with the question of contacts with "democratic and anti-Zionist" forces in Israel; a mandate to the executive committee to examine the relations with Egypt on the basis of its abandonment of the Camp David agreements.

These points, constitute the political programme of the PLO for the next few years.

The council's discussions were supposed to end on Monday evening, then on Tuesday noon, but on Tuesday at 1:00 pm, a suspension was announced, and last-minute touches introduced, after futher debate. After the unanimous approval of the document the executive committee announced the re-election of Yasir Arafat as its chairman. It was hailed by prolonged warm applause. In fact, attempts to have the chairman of the PLO elected by the national council have failed, meaning that responsibility for the conduct of Palestinian policy remains in the hands of the political leadership of the movement — the executive committee. Any decisions it makes going beyond the resolutions adopted at this session of the council will have to be brought before the next PNC.

The main theme of the PNC debate was Palestinian national unity. Resolutions in fact had "reaffirmed and reconsolidated unity of all groups and organisations within the framework of the PLO." It emphasises the "autonomous national decision" and the will to "resist all pressures which constitute an attempt on this independence." Such autonomy of decision and action "must be the basis and coalition of the co-operative relation of the PLO with the Arab states," the document insists.

The Fez plan is evaluated in the document, along the lines presented by PLO political director Farouk Kaddoumi in his opening address to the PNC, as "a minimum acceptable platform, complementary to military struggle, in view of achieving a more beneficial balance of forces for the Palestinian people."

In regard to Jordan, the document states the existence of special relations between "the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples" and declares that "their future relations will be based on a confederation between two independent states."

The Reagan plan has constituted in the past few days a real battlefield in the PNC debates. But before going on to mention the Reagan plan, the political document expresses support for the Brezhnev plan. The Soviet peace plan for the Middle East, formulated in 1982, foresees an international conference with the participation of the PLO to discuss the future of Palestine.

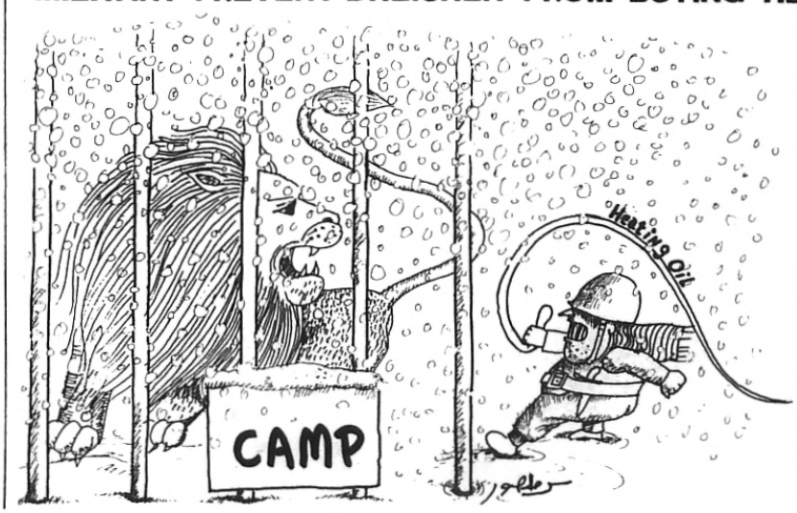
On February 21 the Reagan plan was declared in a draft pf the political resolution as "not acceptable to the PNC as a valid base for a just solution of the Palestinian question." February 22 evening, the text which was approved affirms that "the council refuses to consider the Reagan plan as a valid base for a just solution." The correction made was due to interpretations in the media in the hours after the submission of the first proposal that the Reagan plan had not been rejected. Members of the council wanted to emphasise that the Reagan plan in its present form is rejected by the PNC.

As regards the relations with the "peace forces" in Israel, the resolution recalls the PNC decision of 1977 which referred to the "democratic and anti-Zionist forces in Israel." The document gives a mandate to the executive committee to "deal with the problem according to the interests of the Palestinian people and of international struggle."

As far as relations with Egypt are concerned, homage is paid to the struggle of the Egyptian people and the executive committee is mandated to "determine the PLO's relations with the Mubarak regime on the basis of the abandonment of the policy of the Camp David agreements."

The political document is balanced by emphasis on armed struggle and the relaunching of actions inside the occupied territories, including South Lebanon, and with emphasis on "the strategic importance of the relations between the PLO and Syria."

MILITARY PREVENT DHEISHEH FROM BUYING HEATING FUEL



Local reports say that Dheisheh refugee camp residents have been forbidden to buy kerosene from local gas stations.

The news were first reported in Palestinian daily newspapers in the occupied territories February 22 in short news items. They noted that a ban on sale of the heating fuel to the 15,000 residents of Dheisheh camp, near Bethlehem, came from the Israeli authorities "to owners of the two gas stations near the camp." The papers did not state whether the owners received written or verbal orders. . . . . .

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Israeli soldiers carefully guard a convoy of Palestinians and Lebanese, taken early in the invasion, being transported to prison camps. The largest such camp, Ansar in South Lebanon, still holds some 6000 men. Leading Israeli lawyers complained, February 24, that eight months after the start of the war they are still being prevented from seeing clients — many are sick, wounded, children or non-combatants.

LEBANON'S COMING WAR

Palestinian and Lebanese forces carried out more than seven attacks against Israeli troops in South Lebanon during the past week. Israeli military spokespeople said this marks a rapid increase in military operations. No official casualty figures for the week were released.

One Israeli tank was damaged February 18, when it was hit by an RPG, west of Aley. It was escorting Phalangist militiamen. An Israeli military spokesman, who announced the incident, claimed that none of the crew was hurt.

An Israeli bus carrying soldiers south from Tyre was attacked with rockets and light arms February 21. Again, there was no casualty report. The two attacks followed a series of explosions and ambushes in Israeli occupied South Lebanon. According to Israeli military analysts, quoted in the Hebrew press, the Israeli army does not know where the strikes come from. One analyst said the vulnerability of the Israeli army is due to the "difficulty in getting local residents to collaborate." Others suggest that the attackers are natives of the area and "therefore carry out surprise attacks."

Meanwhile, Israeli military correspondents charged that Lebanese residents of the Shouf mountains offer aid to fighters coming through Syrian lines in the Beqa'a.

There are reports that Israel has increased its patrols in an attempt to stem the rising number of ambushes and has begun transporting soldiers by helicopter.

After moving into Sidon and Nabatiyeh last week, Sa'ad Haddad established a new military base in the Adloun region, south of Sidon. According to reports, Israel has equipped the centre with tanks and heavy artillery.

War Drums

Israel and the US continued to harp on Syrian rearmament. *The Los Angeles Times* quoted Israeli Defence Minister designate, Moshe Arens, February 23, saying that Israel will attack Syria if it sees that Syria's military capapility represents a threat. On the same issue, US Secretary of State George Shultz warned, last week, against Syria's acquisition of SAM-5 anti-alrcraft batteries. He said it would threaten the security of Israel.

The US and Israeli officials' statements coincided with increased reporting in the Israeli and US media on the quantities of arms received by Syria from the Soviet Union. Last week, the Soviet press said that Israeli war planes are training on models of Syrian targets in the Naqab. They warned of an imminent attack against Syria.

International Body Examines Israeli Detention Policy

On February 1 and 2, 44 members of groups in 17 countries gathered for a conference in Paris to discuss the issue of Palestinian and Lebanese detainees in Lebanon. Issues discussed included the reasons for the establishment of the International Centre for Defending Palestinian and Lebanese Detainees and Missing Persons, the activities of the centre, the role of UNRWA in Lebanon, the conditions of Palestinian and Lebanese detainees, and recent UN decisions condemning Israel for its violations of human rights.

An eight member follow-up committee was elected.

Leo Matarasu, the chairman of the International Centre and a member of the Committee for Defence of Human Rights said lawyers and judges from many countries decided to establish the centre because Israel does not treat the Palestinian detainees as prisoners-of-war and Israel refuses to release the Lebanese and Palestinian civilians. "This is an insult against humanity," Leo Matarasu said.

Moroccan lawyer Idris Anwar surveyed the activities of the centre. He noted that the centre had translated excerpts from **Al Fajr** and Israeli Hebrew newspapers about the conditions of the Lebanese and Palestinian detainees in jail. The centre has also made contacts with the International Committee for the Red Cross in Geneva to collate information about the conditions of detainees. The centre, Anwar said, sent a letter to the Lebanese minister of justice detailing Lebanese government violations of Palestinian human rights.

Abd al-Rahman Yosofi, another Moroccan lawyer, examined what he called "the vague role of UNRWA in Lebanon." Yosofi said that many Palestinian employees of the organisation had been arrested. The role of UNRWA, Yosofi explained, has changed from defending Palestinian refugees to the mere issuing of material help.

FEARS OF A RISING TERROR CAMPAIGN

THREE BODIES FOUND IN SIDON

Three bodies, one of which was identified as that of a Palestinian refugee, were discovered by Lebanese police in the Sidon region, February 21, foreign journalists in Beirut reported. Two days earlier, UNRWA officials issued a second warning in less than two weeks regarding the security of the Palestinian refugees in South Lebanon.

News correspondents in the Lebanese capital said that two of the bodies, which were found near the northern entrance to Sidon, were badly mutilated and that it was impossible to identify them. The third body was found lying 200 meters away from an Israeli army concentration centre and was that of a local Palestinian. According to Sidon residents, unidentified gunmen kidnapped the Palestinian refugee from his home, February 20.

The discovery of the three bodies adds fuel to fears of a rising terror campaign against Palestinian refugees. During the past few weeks, more than 20 families in the Sidon area recieved written threats ordering them to move to the major Palestinian refugee concentrations.

UNRWA spokesman in Vienna, Terry Davidson, told reporters that right-wing groups have been placing threating notices on the doors of Palestinian houses mainly in Adloun, Sidon, and Sarfand. In Sidon alone, five families and an UNRWA teacher recieved letters ordering them to move from the city to the refugee camps.

One case cited by observers is that of a Palestinian refugee from the Kaiyas neighbourhood in Sidon. On February 14, a hand grenade was thrown at his car and the following day he found a threatening letter on his door ordering him to leave the city within 24 hours, "or else he will have only himself to blame."

UNRWA officials revealed that Lebanese residents opposed to the terrorisation of Palestinian refugees are also coming under threat. In Sidon, one Lebanese youth was kidnapped and his father killed, after he repeatedly worked against the right-wing assailants.

In the wake of the increased terror, the spokesman of the French foreign affairs ministry announced, February 21, that the European Common Market countries have expressed concern to both the Lebanese and Israeli governments about the security of the Palestinian refugees. The spokesman revealed that the ambassadors of West Germany in Israel and Lebanon had contacted the two foreign ministries and conveyed EEC concern. (Translation: Al Quds)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE MASSACRES

Ken Field, secretary of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, announced February 13 that the institute is preparing to convene an international committee to inquire into the Sabra and Shatila massacres and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The institution has formed a special committee of British parliamentarians, headed by Labour PM Michael Meacher, who are contacting European figures to form the nucleus of an international court.

Ken Field said that the court will hear testimony from members of the House of Commons in the near future and hold a session in Paris next spring.

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has in the past established international inquiries into the war in Vietnam, and violations of human rights in Latin America, Germany and Kampuchea. Last week, PLO leaders demanded the formation of an international court similar to the Nuremburg trials to investigate the massacre.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 147, February 25, 1983:

Number of original articles sent to censor	21
Number of articles totally censored out	7
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	4
Number of articles partially censored but used	4
Number of articles passed	6

Fraud Leads to Land Grab in Beit Illu

Residents of Beit Illu and Kobar villages, Ramallah district, discovered, February 12, that vast tracts of land in their villages have been sold to an Israeli settlements building company. The fraudulent deal was based on Tabu documents taken from the land registration department in Ramallah.

The grab came to light when residents saw that land surveyor's signs had been posted around 12,000 dunums between the two villages. The area is planted with 3000 olive trees, thousands of figs trees and grape vines.

Residents immediately complained to the department of land registration in Ramallah. There they discovered that a broker, in cooperaion with two Beit Illu residents, had taken *tabu* registry documents from the office.

In an attempt to quell rising anger, the assistant Ramallah military governor went to inspect the 'taken land', February 13. He saw men, women and children assembling in their land and told them that the Israeli authorities "knew nothing" about the forgery. . . . . .

Shu'fat refugee camp, north of Jerusalem, snow-bound.

Peace Now Bomber Suspect Remanded

A Jerusalem magistrates court, February 22, remanded for four days an Israeli, whose name cannot be published, on charges of threatening the life of Peace Now activist Emil Greenzweig during a demonstration last week. Daily newspapers, however, printed a photo of the suspect. Greenzweig was later killed when an Israeli army grenade was thrown at the demonstrators.

Israeli police arrested three suspects February 20, on charges of creating disturbances against the Peace Now demonstration outside Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's office in Jerusalem.

Amiram Goldblum, one of three Peace Now spokespersons in Jerusalem who attended the Peace Now demonstration, told *Al Fajr* that he gave descriptions and other evidence against two persons who created disturbances. "Emil Greenzweig and I were walking at the front of the demonstration," Goldblum told *Al Fajr*, "when a person walking in front of us threatened to kill Greenzweig, He said he would "waste' him." Goldblum added, however, that he did not accuse him of throwing the grenade at the demonstrators. Goldblum expressed his doubts in regard to police success in identifying the attackers.

Greenzweig was killed and 10 other persons were injured, two of them seriously, when a grenade was thrown at the Peace Now demonstrators, February 10. Two Israelis who were arrested on charges in connection with the attack, were released on bail February 22, Israel radio reported.

Cold Snap Strikes West Bankers

A wave of severely cold weather hit the area, this week, causing snow and below zero temperatures. The storms, which were accompanied by strong winds caused wide-spread damage, the isolation of some areas in the West Bank and power and telephone failures. Ramallah was cut off from the West Bank, February 19, 20, 21, because of damage to telephone lines. A number of neighbourhoods reported electricity current disruptions throughout the week.

Floods and land-slides caused the closure of several West Bank roads including the main Ramallah-Nablus road. There water rose to 80 centimetres at some points. The roads to Bir Zeit and villages west of Ramallah were also cut by high waters.

At Arrabeh in the Jenin district, a cave being used as a stable collapsed, killing 30 sheep. Ibrahim Abu Sara, the owner of the sheep, estimated his losses at JD 4000.

In the occupied Golan Heights, seven metres of snow fell in places, paralysing traffic between four Druse villages. Four tourist buses carrying several hundred tourists were stranded, February 19, in the village of Masa'adeh.

All over the West Bank, community and social clubs organised campaigns to help their communities. Emergency committees were set up as young people helped clear roads and distribute food and heating fuel to old and needy residents.

Dr. Fahmi Hibabeh of Augusta Victoria hospital told *Al Fajr* that many of the patients admitted to the hospital this week suffered from asthma which, he said, is complicated during cold weather. Hibabeh said that other frequent admissions during the cold spell were patients suffering from heart slow downs. Augusta Victoria children's ward had a number of cases of pneumonia.

According to officials at the UNRWA-founded hospital, most patients came from the Ramallah refugee camps and surrounding vilalges.

Israeli newspapers reported widspread damage to Israel crops, particularly bananas, avocados and citrus fruits. Farmers reported losses of millions of Israeli shekels.

BZU BATTLES OUT ANTI-PLO PLEDGE

Foreign passport-holding lecturers at West Bank universities and institutes of higher education are debating new proposals from the Israeli authorities which could end conflict over the anti-PLO pledge which was added to work permit applications at the beginning of the academic year. So far, no decision has been made.

The work permit was officially amended for the fourth time, February 15, following meetings between officials at Bir Zeit University (BZU) and the Israeli military authorities, three weeks ago. They suggested that the phrase, "I read and understood the above", be added at the bottom of the original pledge. This would allow lecturers to apply for permits without compromising their academic consciences by signing political statements. On February 15, the Ramallah military authorities informed BZU that foreign lecturers had until Sunday, February 20, to sign the modified version of the undertaking. "Otherwise we will take action against them," the authorities reportedly said.

Before the deadline expired, Gabi Baramki, BZU vice-president, informed the Israelis that it would be impossible to convey the order to the foreign teachers since the university is on mid-term vacation. No new deadline was set.

Albert Aghazarian, BZU public relations officer, told *Al Fajr* that lecturers want to consult with the 30 teachers who were expelled last year for refusing to sign the undertaking. Since the anti-PLO pledge was introduced, over 30 teachers have been ordered to stop teaching by the military.

SHARON: OUT OF THE FRONT DOOR... AND IN THROUGH THE BACK

Following his forced resignation last week, former Defence Minister Ariel Sharon was appointed February 20, to two important ministerial committees: the security committee, and the special committee supervising the talks with Lebanon. The decision brought sharp criticism from opposition groups inside and outside the Israeli Knesset.

Sharon, who kept the post of minister without portfolio after his resignation following the Kahan commission of inquiry report into the Sabra and Shatila massacre, was appointed to the two committees during the weekly cabinet session on Sunday. He received full backing from the Israeli Prime Minister, Menachem Begin. The decision was opposed by one minister and four abstained. Begin had reportedly scheduled the appointment of Sharon to the two committees for a vote at the beginning of the cabinet meeting and refused to postpone it. He reportedly told the cabinet, "it is important for the cabinet to benefit from his expertise."

The security committee is an internal committee consisting of three-quarters of the cabinet. Its job is to supervise security matters. The second committee, a temporary one, was established some weeks ago to follow the talks with Lebanon and make immediate decisions when necessary. It is composed of five ministers, including the prime minister.

Opposing Sharon's incorporation into the committees was Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori, who argued that he wanted to be appointed to the security committee and that he has thr qualifications to suit the job.

The Israeli cabinet's decision drew a great deal of condemnation from various Israeli political groups. Haim Bar-Lev, general secretary of the Labour Party, described the decision as "adding insult to injury". Amnon Rubinstein, chairman of Shinui Party, attacked keeping Sharon in the cabinet as well as appointing him to the two committees.

Peace Now movement issued a statement February 20, calling on the government to rescind its decision, and "honour the commission of inquiry's resolutions."

PLO Leaders at PNC

Arafat Vows to Continue Struggle

In his speech closing the 16th PNC, immediately following his unanimous re-election as PLO chairman, Yasir Arafat said that the olive branch he had carried in 1974 at the UN with the gun had not yet dropped. The PLO, he said, still carried both. Arafat's speech was well received by the attending crowd.

In an earlier speech, Yasir Arafat, unaffected by what some believe to be a Palestinian defeat in Lebanon, was as defiant as always. In his February 14 speech, he referred to the long struggle of the Algerian people that finally brought sweet results. He asserted that the struggle would continue until Palestinian demands for the rights to self-determination and independent statehood on Palestinian soil were achieved. Arafat referred to the Beirut battle as the most glorious example to date of Arab fighting against Israel. He criticised US support for Israel which, he said, had enabled Israel to wage numerous wars against the Arab nations.

Referring to the crimes of Sabra and Shatila, Arafat compared those who perpetrated them to the Nazis who committed crimes against the Jews in Europe.

In Beirut, Arafat said, all fighters — "the Palestinian people and their Lebanese allies — were left alone." Palestinian national unity, "our national unity," Arafat said, "is the best guarantee for success."

While speaking against any further compromises, Arafat stressed the need for armed struggle. "Armed struggle," he said, "is an extension of diplomatic struggle." Arafat said that "our people are the best guarantee for continued struggle." In talking about the role of Arab governments he said, "Peace is for the powerful, while the weak have no peace."

About relations with Jordan, a subject of much discussion, Arafat said that contact with Jordan was in the interest of Arab objectives and unity.

Habash Praises Beirut Defenders

ALGIERS, FEBRUARY 17, 1983 — For 110 minutes George Habash, secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, gave his and the organisation's analysis of the present situation to an attentive, packed-to-capacity audience at the 16th Palestine National Council, here. Physically weak, but highly articulate, 'al-Hakim' ('the doctor' or 'the wise') categorically rejected the Reagan plan, parts of the Fez summit resolutions and criticised those who call for readjustment in relations with Jordan. He also made a strong plea for continued unity.

Habash, who often banged on the podium to stress his points, described how US envoy Philip Habib had sent messages to the PLO leadership describing the strength of forces encircling Beirut and the leaflets which Israel dropped in South Lebanon calling for "our people to sink and surrender."

"We stood and thought, thought of our responsibilities, of our future, of our proud people. Our conclusion was: we will not surrender." Al-Hakim went on to describe the disappointment he felt as the Arab nations had given up a chance to deny Israel the level of success it had achieved. Habash asserted that the Arab people would have contributed to the struggle if they had been allowed to and praised the Lebanese National Movement. He recalled the poster pasted up in Beirut as PLO forces were pulling out. "Do not leave us alone. We will march with you to Palestine."

But Habash saved his harshest criticism for the various peace plans which have been published since the battle of Beirut. The Reagan plan, he said, is an extension of the Camp David accords and aims to control the Middle East. It denies the Palestinian people a state and the right to be represented by the PLO, he said, while doing nothing to remove the settlements. "We say no to the Reagan plan and no to surrender." Habash stressed that his major criticism is that the plan does not offer the Palestinians any part of their land. "If it did, I would say, take it," he concluded.

On the question of links with the Hashemite monarch, Habash merely referred to the 1974 Rabat Arab summit resolution which delegated the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. He did not touch on the question of a role in any talks for the exiled mayors of the West Bank, however.

He made a strong plea that relations with Egypt not be renewed until that country has severed its links with the Camp David accords. "Arafat, as the temple of our revolution, cannot compromise with Camp David," he said. Habash also had harsh words for the latest Arab summit resolutions coming out of Fez, Morocco.

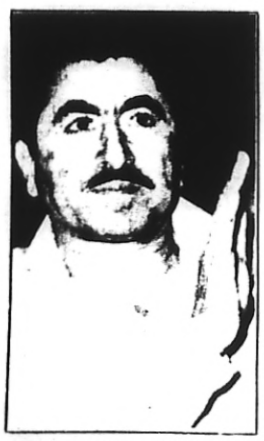
He said they were a product of a weak Arab stand and reactionary Arab regimes. Singling out the seventh point which implies recognition of Israel Habash said, "We, as the PFLP, oppose it." He said the plan offered the Palestinians nothing, but added that if it did, the PLO would consider it.

Habash drew to a close with a call for unity. He noted that one of the major problems is the imbalance in power between the Arabs and Israel. He said a clear plan of action would be one way to redress the balance. In that light he called for Palestinian unity.

He also gave delegates his assessment of future relations with the Arab states. He called for an escalation of the armed struggle from all Arab states, including Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt, adding that the Palestinians can also struggle against the Arab states if the need arises. He called for strengthened ties with Syria, geopolitically because of its relations with the USSR; geographically because of its proximity to Lebanon and Israel and because Syria has also lost territory to Israel. He closed by praising the PLO's ties with the Russians, as the leading power with ing the friendly Socialist bloc.

TIES WITH JORDAN ONLY AFTER ESTABLISHMENT OF PALESTINIAN STATE

Hawatmeh Warns Against Links with Hussein



The Palestine National Council plenum was once more packed and attentive, February 18, to hear the speech of Nayef Hawatmeh, general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Hawatmeh stated a strong position against the Reagan plan and against links with the Jordanians.

The DFLP chairman told his audience that the Reagan plan "represents the basic and continuous danger facing the revolution, the PLO and our national cause." Its aim, he asserted, was to gain basic concessions from the PLO and to "jump over" the basic rights of the Palestinian people. He said that reactionary Arab regimes will try to adopt it by excessive concentration on the seventh point of the Fez summit resolutions. "It would clearly mean the end of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people," he said.

Hawatmeh came out against premature links with the Hashemite kindgom. Links should only be made, he said, after the establishment of a Palestinian state. He accused Jordan of trying to retract from Fez and other Arab summit resolutions in favour of the Reagan plan. He noted that other reactionary Arab regimes are pressuring the PLO to empower King Hussein to deal with the Palestinian issue instead of the PLO. The DFLP leader warned against attempts to recruit other elements to represent the Palestinians. He attacked as "American or Israeli" the "declaration on the West Bank distributed by Elias Freij." He called for the unifying of Palestinian ranks in the occupied territories in a united front "to enable them to stand fast against Zionist occupation."

He said that even the present contacts with the Egyptians violate previous PNC resolutions and said that that country should only be brought back into the Arab fold after it has renounced its ties with Camp David.

Hawatmeh also concentrated on internal relations in the PLO. He opened by calling for national unity to be maintained. This, he said, could be done by concentrating on collective leadership and collective decision-making. "The fault is not in the number of organisations but in the way decisions are made." said Hawatmeh. "Decisions should be made democratically."

Hawatmeh stressed that ties should be improved with progressive Arab countries. He singled out Syria, "with which we meet in fighting Israeli occupation" but called on Syria to understand the Palestinian stand. "Every party should be totally independent," said Hawatmeh.

Hawatmeh praised the Palestinians "of the 1948 territories" saying "they deserve our respect."

The Dawn

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Strength and Unity

At the end of the week-long meetings of the sixteenth session of the PNC, PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat described the results as "excellent". He also said that the resolutions indicate the strength and solidity of the ability of Palestinians to make independent decision.

Despite all the moral and physical pressure exerted on and against the PLO's institutions, committees and individual members, the Palestinian decision emerged very clearly:

* The Reagan plan – which denies the Palestinian right to return, to self-determination and to an independent state and ignores the Palestinian people's sole and legitimate representative – cannot be seriously considered as a foundation for solving the Palestinian question and was consequently rejected.

* The PNC did voice its favour of an international conference which would include the PLO as a full, legitimate participant.

* It refused "power of attorney" to any party other than the PLO to deal with the Palestinian question at any and all levels considering that such a step would undermine Palestinian independent decision-making.

* It also supported the Egyptian people in their struggle to end Egypt's Camp David commitments.

The PNC decision last week, which basically reiterated the decisions of council meetings of previous years, showed that Palestinians will not be led into hastily made negotiations with proxy "politicians" who say they represent them. The empty headed and meaningless slogans: "time is running out", "it is 5 minutes to midnight" and "in a few more months there will be no more land left to negotiate" did not delude anyone. All threats to involve elements from the West Bank and Gaza in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian (that is, Jordanian-Jordanian) delegation did not force the Palestinian free mind into submission.

The Palestinian parliament (the most democratic popular institution in the Middle East) did not exactly tremble under the feet of the invaders. Military struggle was emphasized as the main and strongest form of political struggle by which to achieve Palestinian basic rights. The best symbol for the much-applauded unity was carefully and correctly chosen to be a "Palestinian National Army" under one command.

In addition, special consideration was given to the Palestinian population under Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza. The council adopted the reactivation of the National Front as a means to strengthen and guide the struggle of the people for their basic rights.

Palestinians in the occupied territories join their voice to that of the PLO chairman and say: Yes, the session was excellent and the aftermath will prove itself even better. The results have showed that the march will continue until the inevitable victory.

US: QUALIFIED PEACE-BROKER OR IMPOTENT B. STANDER?

by Nabih Oweidah

Some people find it pleasing — especially at this stage — to warn that time is passing fast and that the Arabs should understand the situation and use the opportunity which "may not return" to negotiate with Israel "to save what can be saved." These people are asking the PLO to recognise Israel and negotiate with it, relying on the "promises" of the United States which — so they believe — will put a lot of pressure on Israel to change its stand. They make the settlements which Israel is building on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip a starting point for these demands; what they forget, or seem to forget, is Israel's declared position which its leaders have affirmed:

No withdrawal from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip because they are part of "greater Israel".

No negotiations with the PLO, even if it recognises Israel.

Israel has, on more than one occasion, declared its refusal to recognise the PLO or to negotiate with it, and has refused to withdraw from occupied Arab territory and stop Jewish settlement and has rejected the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza.

These people also seem to ignore that, despite increasing international support for Arab causes, the US is bent on pursuing its hostile policy towards the Arab nation. It clings to its commitment towards Israel and to supporting its policies by military, economic and political means.

The present American administration has confirmed the depth of its commitment toward Israel when President Reagan announced, at the beginning of last September, his special plan for solving the problems in the Middle East, known as the "Reagan initiative" in which he said:

"The United States will oppose any plan from any party on any point in negotiations which threatens Israeli security because the American commitment to Israeli security is as strong as our commitment to our own security . . ."

Before the invasion, Israeli officials visited Washington and got the "go ahead" from the US administration. This has been confirmed by statements that President Reagan made. Reagan even reaffirmed this agreement in his "initiative" when he said:

"The war in Lebanon was a tragedy in itself, but it has provided us with a new opportunity for peace in the Middle East."!

The question now is: is the United States really qualified to achieve peace in the region?

In the light of firm and successive American stands on the issue of the Middle East, it is clear that its traditional hostility for the Arab nation, and the Palestinian cause in particular, is firm and unchanging and that its commitments toward Israel are basic and fundamental.

America supported Israel in the June war of 1967; it stood at its side and saved it from certain defeat in the war of 1973 and put pressure on Egypt to acceed to Israeli demands before, during and after the Camp David accords were signed. It also stands by Israel's side in the Lebanese-Israeli negotiations in Khalde and Khalsa (Kiryat Shemona) where the US has changed from being an "observer" into a "full participant" standing by Israel's side and supporting all its demands.

The US is putting pressure on certain Arab countries to enter into negotiations with Israel whilst it still stands against the hopes and aspirations of the Palestinian people.

America opposed and still opposes any resolution issued by any international organisation condemning Israel or demanding measures be taken against it or that it be boycotted.

As a result of this, Israel ignores all international laws and conventions. It is even beginning to impose its policies and hegemony on all the countries in the region. It has reached the stage where even America objects and confronts Israel. This happened when Israel declared its absolute rejection of the Reagan initiative even though it did not depart at all from Israeli policy and demands. Israel asserted this rejection with its decision to establish more settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and increase the number of Israeli settlers.

However, such a confrontation is not the first of its kind. There have been many Israeli confrontations to American policy which Israel has gained from. This is due to the impotence of the US administration in forcing Israel to comply with its resolutions.

Let us look at one of the many examples which prove American impotence

Former US President Jimmy Carter withdrew his administration's signature on the UN Security Council resolution of March 1, 1980, to call a halt to the building of Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territory and to remove existing settlements. Carter justified his withdrawal by saying that the vote of his delegate to the UN was the result of a misinterpretation of the text of the mentioned resolution!

continued on page 6

OPINION

NORWEGIANS PROTEST ISRAELI PRESSURES ON WB UNIVERSITIES

The Oslo Students' Parliament, assembled on 27, January 1983, condemns the harassment of the staff of Najah University, Bir Zeit University and Bethlehem University on the Israeli occupied West Bank of the Jordan River.

The Israeli occupiers have demanded that about 100 holders of foreign passports, among teachers at these universities, sign a special "oath of loyalty" entailing a denial of support for the PLO or any other "hostile organisation."

The teachers in question have all refused to sign this statement. They have therefore been denied work permits and have been expelled or threatened with expulsion.

This "oath of loyalty" is a provocation against the students and the teachers at the universities on the West Bank. These universities have also been closed on several occasions in the past, making working conditions for Palestinian students intolerable. We consider these provocations as part of the Israeli expansionist policy. The occupying force intends to coerce Palestinian youth into leaving their homeland by not giving them the opportunity to continue their education at university level.

On behalf of the students at the university and colleges of Oslo, the Oslo Students' Parliament demands:

— that the expelled professors and lecturers immediately be given their working and residence permits.

— that academic freedom be established at the three universities of the West Bank.

— that the Israeli occupants stop preventing the functioning of the Palestinian universities on the West Bank.

The Oslo Students' Parliament
Sunneva Satevik

Pre-State Zionist Organisation Offered Services to Nazis

Much has been written and said about Lehi's shameful attempt to make connections with Nazi Germany. I believe that the Germans have not yet published their side of the story. But among the many files that I have had to examine, there is one file which presents the Nazi side of the story about these connections.

This issue is popular these days, especially after the statements of one of Lehi's leaders, (now Israel's Foreign Minister) Yitzhak Shamir, about the meeting between Avneri-Peled-Arnon (three Sheli leaders) and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat. I want to make it clear, however, that, unlike Begin, I don't see every enemy as a 'Nazi'.

The Nuremberg laws were already in force in 1941. The Jews had to wear the yellow star in Poland, Holland and I think also in France. Burning synagogues were a daily scene, murdering Jews wasn't a secret, and in this atmosphere, Lehi tried to make a connection with Nazi Germany. The story as told by the Germans is as follows:

On January 21, 1941 a document was sent to the foreign ministry in Berlin by Franz von Fafen, the German ambassador in Ankara, Turkey. The document was filed in the German archives under No. E234151-8 and classified as secret. To this document von Fafen attached another, also classified as secret, which included an informative report by the naval attache whose office was in Istanbul. This report was written on January 11, 1941, and sealed by the official seal of the Nazi German embassy in Turkey, confirming that the document had been received on January 18, 1941.

The report included three paragraphs, two of which are not of our concern here. But the third paragraph is a very interesting one. The naval attache wrote to von Fafen the following.

"Mr. Distinguished Ambassador:

I attach here the following:

1) . . .

2) . . .

3) The National Military Organisation in Palestine has a proposal for solving the Jewish question in Europe. . .

Faithfully yours,"

* * * * *

(To prevent any misunderstanding, despite the fact that the German intelligence officer referred to the National Military Organisation (Etzel) and even wrote its name in Hebrew with Latin letters, he actually meant Lehi and not Etzel (the organisation led by Menachem Begin). In its first days, Lehi was called the National Military Organisation in **Eretz Israel**, but its name was later changed to Lehi.).

Reading paragraph three in detail, we find the following:

The basic point of Lehi's proposal concerning the Jewish question in Europe is that Lehi shows readiness for active participation in the war on the German side.

". . . The National Military Organisation, aware of the positive attitude of the Reich government toward the immigration plan of the Zionists in Germany, sees the following:

"1. It is possible to establish cooperation between the interests of the Germans in their plans for a new order in Europe, according to the German theory and our plans for the national aspiration of the Jews as expressed by the National Military Organisation.

"2. Cooperation between the new Germany and the new national Hebrew entity is possible in the future (in German, he used the words **voelkisch nationalen**).

"3. The establishment of the historic Jewish state on the basis of nationalism and totalitarianism which will have good relations with the German Reich, is in the German interest to strengthen and to defend the position which Germany will establish in the Near East in the future.

"On the basis of the above points, and on the condition that the German government recognises the national demands noted above, the National Military Movement offers its service to take an active part in the war on the German side . . .

"Cooperation with the Israeli liberation organisations is in accord with Chancellor Herr Hitler's statements in his last speech that he would use every combination and every coalition to isolate the English and to attack them. . . "

In the remainder of the document, the author mentions some of the historic highlights of the National Military Organisation, telling about its beginning in the revisionist movement and about its relation with "Herr Zvi Jabotinsky," and noting the split of Lehi from the revisionists over disagreement with the revisionists on their pro-English stand. (From this it is clear that Lehi was meant and not Etzel).

Some very interesting sentences were written here and there in this historical document, which show a full understanding of the affairs of the Jewish **yishuv** (the pre-state Zionist community) in Palestine and of the character of the Irgun. For instance, that in contrast to the rest of the Zionist movement, the National Military Organisation rejects the idea that "only through slow colonization and infiltration is it possible to take control of the homeland, and advocates that only sacrifice and fighting are the ways to occupy and liberate Palestine;" and "The National Military Organisation is very close in its viewpoints and structure to the European totalitarian movements."

I believe that this paragraph from the Nazi document should put a limit on the right of the foreign minister to speak about contacts with controversial bodies, about exceptions to the national consensus, and about others not accepting democratic judgement.

(Translation: Haaretz)

continued from page 5

...US Qualified?

In fact, the withdrawal came about because of Israeli pressure and because of Jewish pressure groups in America.

We notice that in his "initiative", Reagan asked Israel to freeze settlement in occupied Arab territory and did not demand that it remove the ones actually existing. It seems that he has "learned a lesson" from what happened previously to Carter!

The US is unqualified to achieve real and desired peace in the region because of its total alignment with Israel and its hostility to the Arab nation and because it has proved that the US administration is incapable of putting pressure on Israel to force it to walk along the path leading to peace.

We return to those who demand that the PLO recognise Israel and call on them to read and understand well the meaning of Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky's statement which he made to the Tunisian paper **La Presse** published on January 25, 1983 in which he expressed his belief that PLO recognition of Israel would change nothing but would only meet with arrogant Israeli rejection . . . after all this, do these people still harbour any hope of Israel changing its stand?

Since the Reagan administration couldn't put pressure on Israel in the past, when it was free from election sloganeering, how can it succeed in doing so with elections at the door, with every party and every candidate trying to win the support of the Zionist lobby and the Jewish pressure groups in America?

The US administration, which could not prevent Israel from going beyond 40 kilometers inside Lebanon, did not prevent it from entering west Beirut and then did not put any pressure on it to withdraw from Lebanese soil . . . how can it pressure Israel to withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza and then agree to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and recognise and negotiate with the PLO, while it cannot even force Israel to freeze settlement?

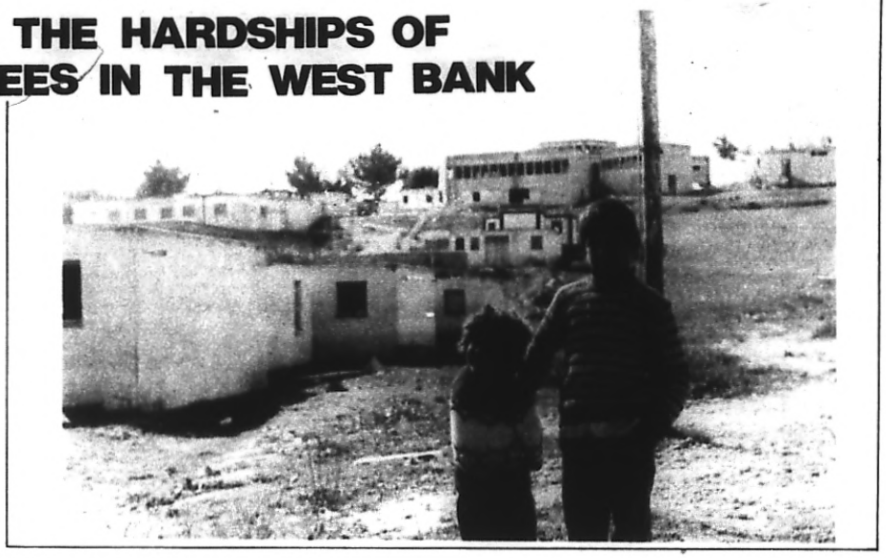
To sum up, peace in the region cannot come about except by all parties obtaining all their national rights, particularly the Palestinian people. Likewise, the achievement of a lasting and just peace is subject to the extent of the cohesion of the Arab nation and its solidarity and determination to adhere to its complete rights and by letting the United States know that its interests in the region will not remain unthreatened as long as it takes a hostile stand to the Arab nation and its causes, thus forcing it to change its policy of alignment with Israel and to deal with it as equal to equal. Otherwise peace will not be achieved and the state of conflict in the area will continue, nobody knows how long.

AL USBU' AL-JADID
February 5

KNOW PALESTINE: FAHME CAMP

DISCOVERING THE HARDSHIPS OF GAZA REFUGEES IN THE WEST BANK

by Awad Abdel Fattah



Some 10 kilometers before Jenin on the left side of the Nablus road, a group of small white painted huts, and a mosque minaret towering above them, occupies the top of a small hill. On the southern edge of the group, a big compound with military vehicles parked in its yard can easily be seen from the main road. This apparently is why many people who happen to drive by, fail to recognize it as a Palestinian refugee camp. Fahme, the camp, is hardly occupied. From close up, it looks deserted. Its dwindling population consists only of those who have not yet found an alternative living place, as have those who left.

Fahme camp was not born, like the other Palestinian camps in the aftermath of the 1948 disaster. This camp was set up in 1970; its inhabitants are victims of forced resettlement by the occupation authorities. Its present 170 inhabitants were brought by the Israeli authorities from the Gaza Strip camps to which they had fled in 1948.

The site of the camp was originally a Jordanian army centre. Several military barracks housed a few Palestinian families until the Israelis decided to set up a military outpost in them a few months ago. The families were evacuated and were forced to live in the bare block shacks in the camp.

History Lesson

At the beginning of the 1970s, the Israeli authorities built 70 shacks with the hope that all would be settled by Palestinian refugees from Gaza camps. "The Israelis," said one veteran refugee who refused to be identified by name, "wanted to thin out both housing and population so that they could chase the Palestinian fighters." He said that he himself was transferred by force from Gaza to Fahme under the pretext that he was not wanted by the Israeli authorities. "I and my family did not know where we finally were going to be thrown," he remarked.

Other families were brought by force in Israeli military trucks after being accused of "resistance against the occupation." Yet more moved out under the pressure of the "harassment and terrorism practised by the occupation authorities."

Samih Musa, 24, a worker, told **Al Fajr**, that shortly before his 13-member family was trucked from Bureij camp in Gaza, he had been shot several times in his chest. "I was saved by a miracle operation," he said. His family, originally from Jaffa, was given two choices: either Samih's brother, who was facing 'security charges', was to be expelled to Jordan, or they had to agree to move to Fahme camp.

Ahmad Said Abd al-Rahim, in his 40's originally from Lydda, told **Al Fajr** that immediately after he was arrested for two months in 1970, he was carried off with his wife, children and his mother in an open truck from Nusseirat camp to Fahme. "There was no definite charge against me, they just told me that I was an 'unwanted person', " he said. "The Israelis wanted to carry out their plan in Gaza in any way, irrespective of the brutality and the atrocities they committed."

New Eviction

With the beginning of last summer's Israeli invasion in Lebanon, Ahmad and other families were kicked out of the Fahme shacks they had lived in since they were deported from Gaza. The repairs which made the houses habitable had been carried out by the families themselves over a period of years. Now they are housed in 20-square-meter huts.

Ahmad, whose family numbers 11, does not know how he can conduct his life, "in such a narrow and miserable residence." He was given IS15,000 by the Israeli authorities to repair his new residence. "But what can I do with such a petty amount of money?" he wondered out loud.

About half the families — their number peaked at 43 in 1974 — could not stand the rigors of life at Fahme and left for other places in the West Bank. As a result, more than 60 percent of the huts in the camp are deserted. "Those who could improve their financial situation," said Abd al-Rahman, father of nine, originally from Yibna near Lydda, "left the camp and established their life in some other place, but those of us who can barely support our families are still here."

Services

The basic services which were provided to the camp refugees at the beginning have not been improved. On the contrary, say residents, they have deteriorated. Children can study in the camp school only to the fourth grade. After that, they have to walk two kilometers to attend classes in Arrabeh, a neighbouring village. The 20 pupils, who receive education in the local school, attend one class taught by the single teacher. "Nobody in the camp places hope on the educational future of this young generation," said one resident.

Classes are now held in a stable. The school was taken by the Israelis when they established their army outpost.

Israelis Are No Longer Interested in the Camp

According to the locals, the Israeli army no longer wants the camp. This is not articulated directly but is felt through recent measures which have been taken in the past few years.

Locals explain that, initially, the authorities were enthusiastic in their plans for a camp to absorb the "unwanted". Free water in mobile tanks was provided to the refugees until 1973 when running water was extended with cooperation of the Arrabeh local council. A considerable part of the costs of the power was covered until 1976 by the Israelis. Since then, no more families have been displaced to the camp and many have left. Those who remain feel totally neglected.

The electricity generator has been out of action for six years. Kerosene lamps are now the only means of lighting. "The Israelis are going to leave us gradually with none of the basic necessities of life," predicts Ahmad Abd al-Rahim.

Another Expulsion Coming?

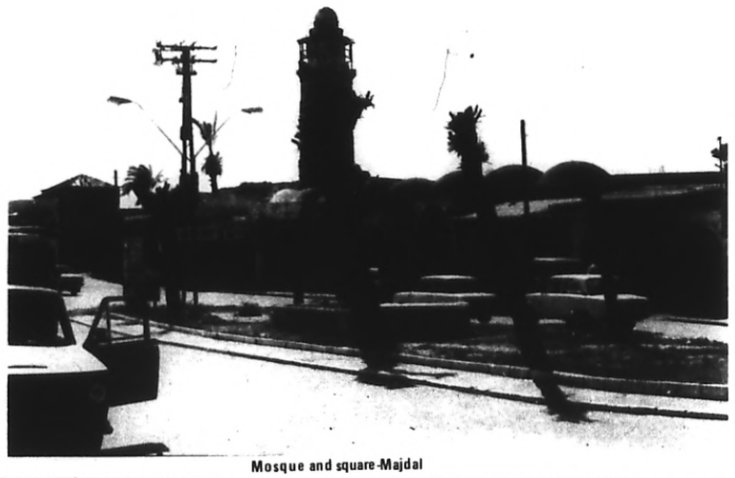
The evacuation of several pre-1967 buildings with the beginning of the invasion of Lebanon and the establishment of a military post there, serves as the strongest evidence of the Israelis' intention to force the population out, according to the locals. The road from the main artery was blocked two months ago with a movable barrier at a point just before it enters the camp. Entrance is now available only to soldiers. The refugees have to make their way into the camp on a winding unpaved track.

Iz al-Din, from Jenin, who has served as nurse in the camp clinic for the last eight years, told **Al Fajr** that he cannot get his car up to the clinic because of the fence. "When the soldiers erected the fence, I was in the clinic with the doctor. They allowed us out only after an hour of argument."

Iz al-Din cites some examples of the soldiers' "disgusting and inhuman behavior." His main complaint is that soldiers relieve themselves in the open. One time "they shot a cat as it walked by them. I believe," he said, "that all these acts are aimed at frightening the refugees and finally forcing them to leave." Iz al-Din also believes that they do not want the camp because their plan of mass evacuation from Gaza has met with complete failure. He has been told by officials in the occupation health administration that the clinic will soon be closed.

The refugees are aware of the next Israeli plan and they are determined not to move unless they are assured of secure residences. Ahmad Abd al-Rahman said, "we have had enough lessons about the dirty policies of this state and we will know how to resist them next time."

From Majdal to Migdal Gad to Ashkelon



Mosque and square-Majdal

The expulsion of Palestinians from their homeland during the 1948 war remains a controversial issue. Israel claims they all left voluntarily – the Palestinians, that they were forced out. Individual or collective versions of what actually happened in place 'X' are very difficult to come by.

Thoma Schick, head of the Israel section of War Resisters International, was, as a young boy, settled in the Majdal area, from which Palestinians had been 'pushed-out.' In an explanation of how he got answers to some of his childhood questions, he refers to the 1950 expulsion of Palestinians from Majdal (now called Ashkelon).

In addition, we reprint the **Jerusalem Post's** verson of events in the area in October 1950. To this we add a letter-to-the-editor sent in 1950 by a Haifa resident in reply to the **Post's** article. The newspaper did not print the reply. (The three articles were translated from **Bamerchav**, December, 1982.)

"ARABS LEAVE MIGDAL GAD WITH CHEERFUL GOODWILL"

By H. Ben Adi

Despite claims made by Egypt in the United Nations regarding the eviction of Palestine Arabs from Israel into Egyptian territory, the recent evacuation of the final group of Migdal Gad's Arab population to the Gaza Strip was carried out in an atmosphere of order and general cheerfulness.

The group, which expressed anxiety only as it moved into the alien territory, bore with it a total of IL 22,000 in the old Palestine bank notes which had been exchanged for Israel currency.

A total of LP 170,000 was taken out of the country altogether by the transfer of the Migdal Gad families which was undertaken at their request. During the noon hours I watched the evacuees, who had been transported in the 45-minute journey from Migdal Gad to the boundary post in 17 trucks piled high with household goods, being transferred across the border with a minimum of formality. Baggage was not inspected, and papers had been ordered beforehand.

Transport Shortage

The main difficulty confronted during the transfer was one of transportation. The large convoy bearing the Israel expatriates was met at the border by four small Egyptian army vehicles. The lack of adequate transport was explained by an Egyptian army officer with the words: "It will do for them."

The Israeli truck drivers, many of them immigrants from Poland and Rumania, expressed surprise at the simplicity and order of the procedure. Their exit from the countries of their origin was not so easily effected, they said.

Most of the evacuees planned to join their families in Gaza. Arabs who remained in Migdal Gad, whose Arab quarter had a deserted look after the series of evacuations, explained that hardships in the town, and desire to reunite families which had broken up during the war had motivated those who left.

If there were complaints about the circumstances of the transfer or the economic conditions which led to the request for evacuation, none were made during the operation. Good cheer reigned till the last minute, and a number of the departing Arabs shook hands with the military governor before leaving and thanked him.

Jerusalem Post, October 25, 1950

Mosque from south and street – al-Majdal

FROM THE GHETTO OF BUDAPEST TO THE DESTRUCTION OF BARBARA:

HOW I LEARNED ABOUT POLITICS, HUMAN RELATIONS AND RACISM

by Yesha'ayahu-Thoma Schick

When I was five in 1944, I was a Hungarian Jewish boy in Budapest. I was persecuted because I was born to a family with a specific religion whose believers and their families – whether believers or not – were harassed, expelled, expropriated and killed. I didn't know anything then about politics, human relations or racism. I was "lucky" to remain alive after staying in the occupied Budapest ghetto in horrible conditions of war and arrest.

When I was 11 years old in 1950, my mother took me to Palestine, where my older brother had been for two years. (When he left Hungary in 1945, my mother knew "he was taken by the American Red Cross to Palestine." He wandered in Europe for three years and arrived in Palestine a few months before the declaration of independence of the state of Israel).

My mother and I arrived at Haifa on August 20 and to my brother's Kibbutz Mavki'im on the morrow. I liked the kibbutz, which was on a hill, surrounded with vineyards, fig trees, sycamores, *sabr* (cactus) and almonds.

I liked the carpentry shop where I could play with the wood-shavings. I noticed the many clay-huts on the north of the hill, that were empty, then the thatched rooves, most of which were still in place. I didn't know anything yet about politics, human relations and racism. I only wondered how it was that the only block building of the kibbutz, near the road from Migdal Gad southwards, was occupied by the highly equipped electric carpentry shop, while on the hill, the members still lived in tents and wooden houses. There was no electricity yet installed.

So I asked and was "tranquilized" that it was not that the kibbutz cared first for the machines, but it was the former school of the former village – the clay-huts – that the block-house served. Now, by the way, the same building serves as a halfway-house, including a restaurant and a mini-market.

No one can imagine it was a school till 1950, and there are no remnants anymore of "my" home-village – Barbara – famous nationwide for its grapes. . .

The clay-huts were razed in the 1950s. The mosque was left standing among the newly built cowsheds for some more years, then it disappeared too.

I stayed at the kibbutz for a short period only, as I was put into a boarding school south of Haifa. It was on October 14, 1950. I didn't like the life in the boarding school, so I ran away about two months later, back to the kibbutz in the south. The management called the police to search for me and there was much worry. When I was "found," at my mother's new home, of course, I heard the people speaking about "the dangerous environment" that I escaped to and that I was "lucky not to be killed by infiltrators . . . "

I didn't know politics, human relations and racism, so I didn't understand the excitement I had caused. Later on, I had a room-mate at the boarding-school, whose brother-in-law, who lived in an Arab house in Majdal, behind the big mosque, told him and me about his personal activity "in the war of independence. "Masses of Arabs were gathered on the streets of Majdal," he told us, "and we, with the Uzi, were running on the roofs of the houses guarding them until they were taken away." I learned in school, that the "war of independence" started on May 15, 1948 after the declaration of the state by Ben-Gurion and ended in 1949 with the armistice agreements in Rhodes. So I gathered that the story of my friend's brother-in-law took place in 1948 . . . later on more precise information reached me. It was alleged that villagers from the surrounding area of Majdal were gathered in the township and then evacuated to Gaza Strip, to fill the new refugee camps . . . But this was information that was denied by official sources.

When I became 16, I became a pacifist and a world citizen and based my life on the principle not to live on the account of someone else. Then I was still not aware of politics, human relations and racism. I had only a sense of humanity. The story of the school-building that turned into a carpentry shop, had a very strong affect on me and I count it as one of the reasons for this. Barbara became a fact in my personal mentality, together with the experience at the age of five, in the ghetto of Budapest.

For some reasons, I had the impression, that the evacuation from Majdal took place in the early months of 1950 and I have had bad feelings about the fact, that I came to a place that wa "prepared and cleaned" for me. I came in August.

This feeling had accompanied me until a few days ago, when I found in the home of a pacifist friend of mine a piece of corresponding material. My friend, who was brought up in Palestine before the 1948 war and was active already then in the struggle for human rights, visited Majdal on October 10, 1950 (four days before I was put in school in the north). Now I understood finally, why my "educators" were worried about my running away to a "dangerous area" in early December 1950!

What I still cannot understand relates to the ghettc of Budapest and to the holocaust. How is it that many human beings who suffered like me, then survived and came to this country, became military – nationalist and I became a pacifist – world citizen? How is it that they deny their factual homeland and replace it with historical rights for a land in which others used to live; and I hold two home-places in my heart, the quarter in Budapest where I was born and lived 11 years, and the village in which I never lived but only saw its empty clay-huts. Old-Buda in Budapest and Barbara in Palestine . . . No country is my homeland, but these are the two villages of my childhood.

My sympathy therefore, is with the children of Barbara because what I drew from the WW II holocaust of humanity is: "never more shall this be done to any five year-old child!" While for some unknown reason other people concluded: "Nevermore for our children . . . "

'CHEERFUL GOODWILL' AGAINST THEIR OWN WILL

Former Barbara school-building, now a halfway – inn near highway

Old school building (middle) with later additions for cinema (sight from north (al-Majdal)

To some they may have appeared leaving with cheerful goodwill, those late Arabs of Migdal Gad (Magdal), just as people do who, having no choice, put a good face on the matter. To me, who has spoken to them and seen them in their distress, they were embittered pitiable people. A Jewish immigrant living in Migdal for eighteen months knew to relate that it was the *Sochnut* who sent them away and that against their own free will they left the ghetto into which they had been penned. The houses of the ghetto were already being allotted to new immigrants while the last inhabitants left. I saw them busy in the ghetto getting ready for the exodus. In the street one sells a writing desk, another various other belongings: tomorrow they have to go, there is no point in taking with you all that belongs to you. Soldiers patrol the streets. They keep order. In one solitary weaving workshop two workers keep the shuttles running until the last minute and in the small coffee-houses a few guests sit idle in their doom just as some believers who squat motionless at the gate of the mosque.

The remarkable number of 12,000 Arab inhabitants had dwindled down to 2700 after the Arab-Jewish war. Of these 2700, a great number had been promised Israel citizenship with full civil rights. Instead they were now served with notices to leave Migdal. This was done diplomatically. Every citizen was requested to fill in a questionnaire and state whether he wants to leave for Egypt or Jordan or for another place in Israel, where he would have to live as a refugee. Almost all of them chose Egypt or Jordan and consequently were urged to sign an application, addressed to the military governor, for permission to leave Israel and were also given transport to the frontier.

Their immovable property, put in the custody of the custodian of absentee property, they could not sell, but on application they could take title deeds with them. The income from these and other sources would be placed to their credit – but this will be counterbalanced by the dues for the administration of the properties and taxes.

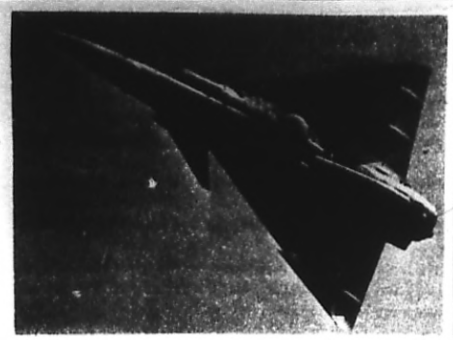
To end the preliminary formalities they had to sign a declaration that they do not intend to return to Israel.

The role of the military governor in the foul play was to "advise" everybody to sign, for after Octorber 15, 1950, the remaining inhabitants would be removed by force and driven out of the country in destitution, and then, of course, "he would be unable to help them." So in the first days of the action when their consternation was great they sold their belongings with great loss; now, with government assistance, they get reasonable prices.

Within 3½ months this episode had been brought to an end. Migdal is now *araberein*. We shall not forget the "cheerful goodwill" with which these unfortunate people bade farewell to their town, the town of their fathers and forefathers, where they were to become Israeli citizens with full civil rights.

JWA
Haifa, 1. 12. 50

A reply to the report published in the Jerusalem Post of October 25 under the title "Arabs Leave Migdal Gad With Cheerful Goodwill"



March 1979

Israel

Foreign Intelligence and Security Services

secret

WHAT BEGIN AND REAGAN DIDN'T WANT YOU TO KNOW PART VIII

AIR FORCE AND NAVY INTELLIGENCE

This week's article on Israeli Air Force and Navy Intelligence is the eighth part in our 10-part series excerpted from a 1979 CIA and State Department document, originally published in *CounterSpy* magazine.

Air Force and Navy Intelligence are small, highly specialized units concentrating on items of immediate concern to only the Air Force and Navy commands. The Directors of Air Force and Navy Intelligence attend the staff meetings of the DMI. Officers from each of these services are detailed to attend the regular meetings of the Research Department in order to coordinate reporting responsibility. Officers from both services are also permanently assigned to the Collection Department to coordinate requirements which are of particular concern to them.

a. AIR FORCE INTELLIGENCE – Israeli Air Force Intelligence is relatively small but efficient organisation. Its main functions are to conduct intelligence operations necessary to support air activities and to coordinate with the DMI regarding its collection efforts. Air Force Intelligence is concerned almost exclusively with Arab air order of battle and the collection of Arab aerial target data. This information is largely collected by aerial reconnaissance and SIGINT, with supplementary information provided by agent reports and prisoner interrogations in hot war situations. The IDF relies heavily on photoreconnaissance for order of battle information. The Air Force has two photointerpretation facilities, but probably does not have more than 20 imagery interpreters. In 1970, all Air Force Intelligence facilities were permanent, although the Israelis planned to acquire several mobile facilities. While Air Force Intelligence does not produce estimates, it does prepare intelligence studies on air order of battle, threats and capabilities. The Air Force administers its own attaches abroad.

Air Force procedures for handling imagery intelligence are highly centralized yet flexible. Israeli photoreconnaissance capabilities, however, are limited. Photographic coverage is not possible below 7,000 feet, and camera systems are not capable of revealing, for example, whether SAM (surface to air missile) sites are occupied. Additionally, Air Force photolaboratory quality control is almost nonexistent. Air Force Intelligence, despite its high standards, did not have enough imagery interpreters at the time of the Yom Kippur War and the overall skill level of those few was rather low.

b. NAVAL INTELLIGENCE – Naval Intelligence is a small, centralized service of approximately 110 people operating in support of Navy units. Most of the personnel are located in the Navy headquarters building in Tel Aviv. The service deals mostly with naval order of battle, foreign capabilities and seaborne threats. Naval Intelligence operates as a semi-autonomous unit of Military Intelligence and is not obliged to provide personnel at the national intelligence level. Naval Intelligence personnel are not subordinate to the DMI except to give consultative assistance in naval matters. In the table of organisation, the Director of Naval Intelligence falls under the Officer comanding the Navy for operational and reporting matters and supports the top navy commands. The service is patterned after the Military Intelligence structure but is geared to the requirements and scope of navy functions and missions. The organization has a deputy director and Collection, Targeting, Production (Research) and Security Departments. It assigns officers to the naval bases at Haifa, Ashdod, Elat, Sharm el Shaykh and a commando unit based in southern Sinai. There is also a Protocol Department, which deals with foreign naval attaches in Israel, and a small organisation and administration department.

The Collection Department, with about 17 personnel, is one of the smaller components in the Naval Intelligence structure. It has few integral operational resources and support for most of its collection efforts must come from or be coordinated through the DMI. Exceptions to this arrangement are Collection Department control of Israeli naval attache activities abroad, small boat coastal operations, COMINT, ELINT and aerial reconnaissance in cooperation with Air Force Intelligence, and a merchant marine program. The post-World War II Israeli endeavor in clandestine arms procurement and illegal immigration developed important commercial and shipping contacts, some of which may still be handled by or at least coordinated with Naval Intelligence.

The Targeting Department, with about 20 personnel, is divided into two divisions: Syria/Lebanon and Egypt/North Africa. These divisions are responsible for: (1) preparing coastal studies for naval gunfire missions; (2) preparing beach studies for amphibious assaults; (3) preparing special target studies to support commando operations; and (4) preparing and maintaining target folders on Lebanese, Syria and Egyptian ports. The Department has access to all sources of information available to the DMI. In addition to levying requirements for collection on the Military Intelligence Collection Department, the Director of Naval Intelligence is on regular distribution for information obtained by the DMI related to naval affairs.

The Production Department, with a staff of about 40, is the largest component of Naval Intelligence. This unit is divided into two divisions: (1) Arab Navies; and (2) the Soviet Navy. The Production Department handles research, analysis, production and dissemination of information on all mobile forces associated with Arab Navies and the Soviet Navy in the Mediterranean. This component is the primary user of all source material which flows into Naval headquarters, especially SIGINT information. The work of this department is mainly in support of units operating out of the four naval bases and the commando unit in southern Sinai. Production is limited largely to studies on enemy order of battle and special weapons. Those studies and others, including target folders, identification manuals and enemy tactics outlines, are disseminated to operational commanders and crews through the base intelligence officers. The base intelligence officer disseminates such information by briefing crews or updating a ship's intelligence library through additions, updates and changes.

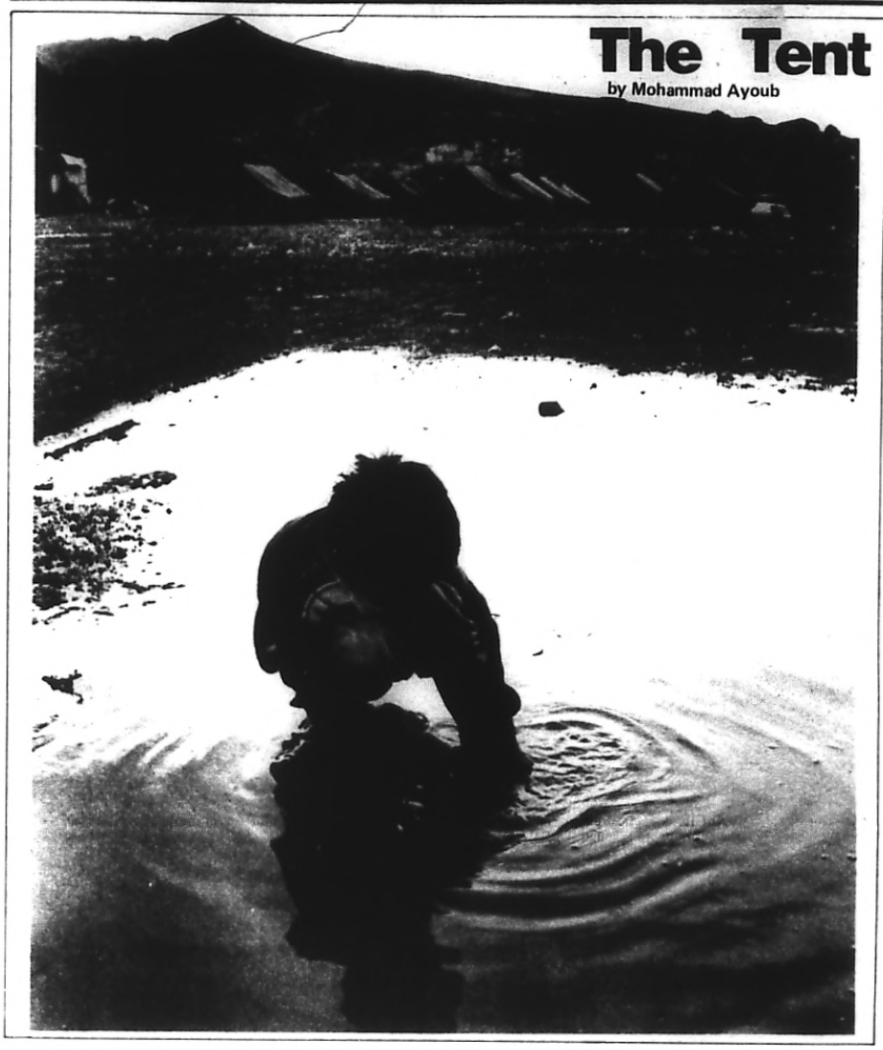
The Organisation and Administration Department with about six personnel assigned, provides secretarial support for the Director of Naval Intelligence. These personnel handle routine administrative duties.

Naval Intelligence, although small, is a well-trained and evidently highly efficient service. Recruiting of personnel into Naval Intelligence is done by means of a very efficient, informal system which identifies individuals and matches them to the needs of the Director of Naval Intelligence, (This system is apparently in force throughout Israeli military intelligence organisations.) Naval Intelligence officer personnel are recruited through several different channels. Most younger junior officers enter directly from the universities while others transfer within the Navy from naval operations units to the intelligence service. A third source is enlisted personnel who have displayed the necessary qualities and have indicated an interest in following a career in naval intelligence. Once identified, such people are sent to a university at Navy expense. Upon completion of their training they are commissioned and pursue careers in Naval Intelligence. Israeli Navy enlisted personnel, both male and female, are mostly volunteers who have been screened by the Director of Naval Intelligence. The Naval Intelligence women serve 20 months, while the men serve 36 months.

Intelligence, prior to and during the Yom Kippur War, was received in the Operations Center a Naval headquarters. During the war, the Director of Naval Intelligence worked very closely with the Officer Commanding the Navy in the Center during ongoing operations. Information from SIGINT and other sources was received in the Center as raw data. Correlation of all information was then done on the spot by the Chief of Naval Intelligence and passed on to the Officer Commanding the Navy. The information was disseminated in the form of orders or reports to operational commanders and units. Processing and dissemination of naval intelligence was accomplished in a highly professional manner with no major deficiencies or Arab naval surprises in the Yom Kippur War. Naval Intelligence also revealed a built-in flexibility when the service shifted quickly to a hot war situation and handled support for active naval operations including shore bombardment missions. One major area where Naval Intelligence has problems is the limited number of personnel. In case of continuous operations, similar to the Yom Kippur War, quality naval intelligence work would probably degenerate after a month of steady operations.

The Tent

by Mohammad Ayoub



Long, long the waiting queue, longer than the path of pain along which he walks. The men wait, anxiety showing in their eyes. The queue does not diminish, but the number of tents diminishes all the time. The path of pain is long and he awaits his turn on the path with no end. The men in front and behind are anxious. Everyone awaits his turn. He feels his five children tugging at his clothes. He would like to grab a tent, any tent, and return to them quickly to protect them from the wind.

But the men, all the men, have children tugging at their clothes, like him. He waits, wondering what sort of tent it will be . . . a hut? wonderful; a circular tent? even better. Abu Hassan got a circular tent, as wonderful as a sitting-room. But it will not shelter his children from the cold. Nothing better than a hut-shaped tent, long; he could divide it into two with a blanket. One part would be the kitchen where his wife could prepare the food and where they could keep warm. The children could sleep in the other half. Yes, a hut would be wonderful. Humble no doubt, but don't imagine I'm on a journey to Rubeen.

Was the tent then the beginning of the path of our pain? Or was it only a preparatory stage to enable us to live on the sands of Khan Yunis? But, oh Rubin, we don't find water or air here, only dust winds carrying grains of sand which get in the eyes and make them sore. In any case, having a tent is better than being out in the open, better than the sky and the open road. A tent hut is wonderful. I will put it up and Abu Hassan will help me like I helped him, and the neighbours promised to help too. The sands will turn into a field sown with tents, a display of tents of various shapes and sizes.

Rubeen was the beginning of the path of pain. Here I am on the path, path with no end. And this queue has no end. The tents will end, but not this path. Perhaps they will say 'Come tommorrow,' like they said yesterday. Abu Hassan stayed a week before he got his tent. "Better late than never," Abu Hassan had said with relief when he got his circular tent. His 10 children, his mother and his sister will all sleep without partitions. It's not possible to divide the tent. A hut tent is easier to divide, with one blanket, it's done. No, the journey on the path of pain will not last long. They told us seven days or seven weeks or seven months. And the seven months haven't ended yet. Maybe these seven months will be short, this path of pain, and then Rubeen will really be a prophet. ThenRubeenwill be the end of the path of pain just as it was the beginning. Seven days . . . or seven weeks . . . or seven months . . . or . . . his mind goes numb . . .or . . . his tongue fails him and he spits on the ground, as one getting rid of disturbing thoughts from his mind . . .or seven years.

Anguish . . . seven years here . . . on these damned sands? God damn Rubeen and Rubeen's sands. If only we had stayed under the mud of our land for ever. The mud of our land was better than Rubeen's beard and Rubeen's sands. Seven years on these sands, impossible, impossible to stay like this seven years. And the promises — days, weeks, months, or damned years?

He looks again at the long queue. It looks like the damned queue will never end. The tents flow one after another. He feels apprehensive. He dreads the repetition of history. Oh Rubeen I detest all sands because of the sands of Khan Yunis, even your sands. God, it this the right way? Is the solution in this queue or in that pile of tents? Is the tent to be the eternal alternative to the orchard and the house? Will we really return in seven months time? Is it possible to wait longer than seven years? We can't stay here longer. I must get a tent, it must be a hut. I don't want a circular tent which is larger than we need. And a bell tent? What if that is what I get? It will be too small for the nine of us. We won't have a kitchen and I won't be able to have any privacy, not even a little.

The queue is diminishing, the tents are diminishing. The only thing that increases without relief is the weight of his thoughts and apprehensions. The tents, who knows what tents? Can these tents stand on these sands without the protection of trees or other things? Can these tents withstand the headstrong winds? Can . . . can . . . can? A thousands bewildered 'can's' in his mind search for answers.

Can these tents cover up our weakness? Can they safeguard our humanity? Will a cold, violent gust of wind come and uproot our tents like the tents of the Meccan infidels? Have we become the infidels of the modern age and will the same happen to us?

And the queue? The path of pain shortens and lengthens; it shortens until we think it has ended and then it lengthens again as though it had no end. The men follow one another, carrying tents on their shoulders, quietly and sedately, shoulders held with pride. When will my shoulders or back be burdened with a tent? We are fed up with the open air, with the sky, with the open road. Who knows what open road? We used to love the sky when we slept under it of our own free will. But now, what sort of sky is it that forces us to sleep under it all the time? If it wasn't summer, things would be different.

Abu Mustafa slaps him on the back and he comes to, suddenly. He smiles, but says nothing: "You'll get your tent today, sure," says Abu Mustafa. "It's nearly your turn."

He lets out a deep sigh, looking at the crates of oranges. The trucks are waiting in a long queue, waiting to transport them to the port of Jaffa. But this wait has a different flavour, a different meaning. Today's waiting has no colour, no flavour, no smell. Only humiliation and degradation. Is this the way? Is this the way to end the path of pain?

Damn all unsatisfactory answers, answers which shed no light on the long path of pain. Long, long, oh path of pain. Longer than this queue, longer than this lifetime. I leave you, path of pain. I will start to trample you underfoot, wear you down, like you wear me down. I will not take a tent, I will not carry a tent, however noble. And the children? They will grow up into desert plants — and desert plants are stonger without watering. Let the children grow into desert plants, wresting their lives from the bends along the path of pain.

The voice of the tent distributor rouses him: "Hassan al-Haj Ali!"

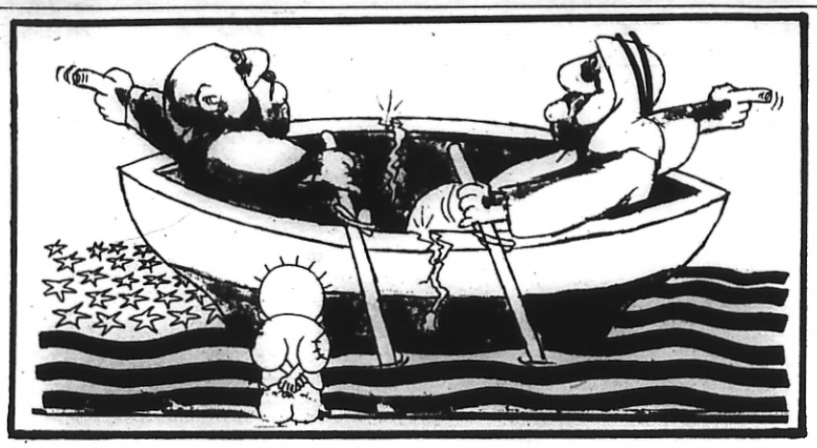
Slowly he walks forward. He looks closely at the pile of tents, understanding nothing. He is present and absent at one and the same time. The voice of the distributor brings him to himself:

"Family of seven. Bell tent."

Aloud he mutters, "Damn . . ." but he swallows his words and does not continue. It is the last bell tent in the pile. Al that remains are small parachute tents. The children will be protected, even in a bell tent, before returning to the land.

Translated by Shirley Eber

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



For the second week in a row the events in the Algerian capital were paramount in the concerns of the Palestinian press. The 16th session of the Palestine National Council was the lead story in all three daily newspapers throughout the week. Leads on the PNC included.

Al Fajr: The independence of the Palestinian decision is stressed; Majority of delegates will go along with the line of the general commander.

Al Shaab. The independence of the Palestinian decision is the title of the PNC meeting; **Arafat:** We will never abandon the rights of our people.

Al Quds: The majority in the PNC leans towards diplomatic freedom; Victory of Arafat's line in the Algerian conference.

Peace to the Just Nation

The 16th session of the PNC which has been taking place since last Monday, February 14, in the Algerian capital, has aroused world-wide interest. In addition to the 350 members of the council itself (which has decided to increase its number to 400), 1200 guests from all over the world (apart from Israel and South Africa), official and popular delegations from 80 countries headed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as more than 600 persons chosen from over 4000 who asked to attend, are participating in this conference.

As we have previously mentioned, this fact in itself proves that the calculations of Sharon, Eitan and the "great" government of mister Begin have been turned head over heels. It has upset all of them and particularly those who have begun to crow their "greatness" which only works on children, old people, the sick and other civilians. The scope of this editorial confines itself to detailing these "calculations." We do not need at present to review the boast of Premier Menachem Begin from the Knesset rostrum. It is enough for us to ask the chief of staff about the future of the "military solution" or to ask Israeli broadcasters until when will they continue to talk about "the terrorists' parliament" or "the terrorists' executive committee?"

It is beyond doubt the recommendations of the inquiry commission into the Sabra and Shatila massacres that have contributed to creating the present crisis within Israel. But we believe that the fundamental role in this goes to the success of the Palestinian Arab people under the leadership of the PLO in reorganising its ranks of struggle and in preserving unity — as is evident from the current session. Since this success is firm and deep-rooted and permanent and achieved with great sacrifice and in the hardest of circumstances, we are sure that it will not be in the power of the ruling establishment in Israel to overcome this crisis.

When we count the achievements of the PLO, we put first the determination of the PLO leadership for the independence of Palestinian decision free of exaggeration, taken responsibly and based on a commitment to international law and a reasonable just solution. This commitment strives for an independent Palestinian state with Arab Jerusalem as its capital alongside Israel and a solution to the issue of the Palestinian refugees according to UN resolutions.

We salute the Palestinian Arab people on these achievements. We salute the sole legitimate representative, the PLO, on their responsible and revolutionary stand. The sacrifices of our people have not been in vain, mainly of those who withstood the attack on Beirut for 88 days. Let the philosophers of "moderation and realism" imagine what their situation would be like if they had been there in Beirut. They have given up, even though they are here and not in Beirut.

We see them now going from moderation to moderation. But we here have been, until now, steadfast as the steadfast, and we will continue to be so until we accomplish a just peace for all people.

AL ITTIHAD
February 18

The Deluded

More than one Arab and foreign party wants the PNC to follow their path to take decisions that serve their interests, disregarding Palestinian interests and independent Palestinian decision making.

Those who want the Palestinian decisions to be "separate," do not want what is good for the Palestinian cause even if their words are disguised in terms of saving lives and land. The opposite may be true, for these people are laying a trap for the Palestinians to finally get rid of them, thus implementing their goals at the expense of our people and cause.

But the Palestinian people, bathed in sacrifice, blood, pain, suffering dispersion and attempts to annihilate them, are impossible to contain and cannot be controlled. Those who try to do so will find that the Palestinians are capable of shaking the foundations of the Middle East and convulsing the regimes at their base.

Those who "support" the Palestinians and those who cannot get away from what the Palestinians want, do not do so out of love for the Palestinians or out of support for them, but because they realise that the more the Palestinians are pressured, the more likely they are of exploding.

The Palestinian response through the PNC meeting will bring awareness to those who are deluded and perhaps they will learn that both solution and war begin with the Palestinians.

AL MITHAQ
February 19

Alor e

The Gulf Cooperation Council is meeting to discuss developments in the Gulf war and the drop in the price of oil; armies are mobilised along the Sudanese-Libyan borders and Muamar Qaddafi declares his readiness to turn the Gulf of Surt into a sea of blood; Egypt busies itself with declaring its support for Sudan and with the disgrace of Ismat Sadat and fighting the rats; Morocco is busy protesting the decisions of the special committee on the western Sahara issue — and Syria seems keen for an Iranian victory over Iraq. In the middle of all this, the Palestinians stand alone — as if they do not belong to this part of the world (and this is not the result of geographic feelings, but a way of seeing things as they are). They meet, discuss, differ, agree and practise democracy in a sea of dictatorial regimes which are unresponsive to words such as freedom, democracy and expression of opinion.

Alone, they show concern for their cause — an Arab cause. Alone, they express themselves, in a wilderness, in a world of the deaf and the dumb. Alone, they bear the torch of rebellion and raise the flag of challenge to imperialism. Alone, they prove that hope remains and that tomorrow's possiblities must be as bright as the rising sun. Alone, they shoulder the task of defending the honour of this nation whilst others look on, conspire, curse and plot.

Today they are alone. But they are the nucleus around which all the Arab peoples will gather tomorrow.

AL SHAAB
February 21

Historic Resolutions

The PNC summed up the discussion at its 16th session in Algeria yesterday by issuing a declaration containing the announced side of the Palestinian work strategy on the political and military level for the coming stage.

The resolutions of the national council have, to a great extent, reflected the feelings of responsibility towards the current phase through which the Palestinian people are passing. The resolutions confirm Palestinian national unity which became evident during the council's discussions.

Although the council members did not publish all the decisions and recommendations, it is certain they have be able to take decisive resolutions that correspond to the demands of the present phase of the Palestinian cause in both the political and military fields in order to realise the aspirations of the Palestinians people for self-determination and for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on national soil.

The resolutions of the national council, which have overcome side issues and were raised to the level of principles and priorities, have again proved the determination of our people to march forward towards achieving their goals and national aspirations and to assert their rejection of all false and hostile proposals concerning the Palestinian cause.

The Palestinian people have once again, through their national council, asserted that their cause is the centre of the Middle East crisis and that it is the key to a just and lasting peace in the region. Any attempt to avoid Palestinian rights cannot achieve peace and stability. The world is called upon to stand by the Palestinian people and work for enabling this people to retrieve their natural and legitimate right for self-determination and the establishment of an independent state on their national soil.

AL FAJR
February 22

Israeli Hospitals Close Doors on Jerusalem Patient

by Awad Abdel Fattah

Taghrid Abu Kalaf (above) and with some members of her 11-member family.

Taghrid Abu Khalaf, a 17 year-old girl from the Old City of Jerusalem, who has been struggling for her life for the last four years has finally been accepted for regular medical treatment at a West Jerusalem hospital. She is suffering from a kidney disease and had been rejected by a number of hospitals under the pretext that there was no place in their dialysis units.

Her case drew attention when on January 19, her rapidly worsening situation required an emergency peritoneal dialysis at the Hadassah-Mount Scopus hospital. The hospital sent Taghrid to Ain Karim hospital claiming that it did not have a regular dialysis programme. At Ain Karim she was not admited. She was told that the dialysis unit was carrying a full patient load.

Her family then took here to Shaare Zedek, Orthodox hospital, where she was again turned away, on grounds that as she had been receiving treatment at Hadassah she could not become a Shaare Zedek patient. Taghrid's mother told **Al Fajr** that she shuttled in vain between the three hospitals about 10 times last month but was given the same story. "Finally," said Taghrid's mother, "in Ain Karim hospital, I went crazy. My daughter was dying." She said she started to scream and accused the doctors of being racist against Arabs. "I cannot even remember what I told the Israeli journalists who followed me to there to talk to me about this matter," she remarked. Since that dramatic incident, which received coverage in the Israeli press, Taghrid has been receiving regular medical treatment. A spokesman told **The Jerusalem Post** on January 21 that "Hadassah's contention about a nursing shortage is nonsense. If the girl came from Rehavia, a rich Israeli suburb of Jerusalem, a place would be found for her."

Taghrid's condition started to deteriorate in her early teens and a kidney disease was diagnosed four years ago. Two of her sisters suffer from betathasemia, a genetically transmitted blood disease affecting the production of haemoglobin. Her father has been an alcoholic for 15 years and has hardly worked during this period. He is undergoing treatment at a drug-intervention centre in Jerusalem.

According to Taghrid's mother, her daughter became sick when she was two. In following years she developed rheumatism. "Most of our small income was paid out on medical treatment," said her mother.

Housing Conditions Reinforces Disease

Taghrid's disease and the public storm which surrounded her case has unveiled the miserable housing conditions in which she has been living for nearly 20 years. Her 11-member family lives in a one-room flat, in the Bab Hutta neighbourhood, in the Old City. The ancient houses there are overcrowded and adjoin each other in very narrow lanes. In Abu Khalaf's flat, there is not even enough room for his families' beds.

Unable to Find Alternative

The family has been unable to get alternative housing for lack of money. The only source of financial support for the family is national insurance "which even can hardly meet our basic needs," said the mother. She does not know to whom to turn to solve the family's problems.

Nadira Yousef, a social worker who has been working with the family for the last two years, told **Al Fajr** that until recently, there was no attention to the housing problem of the family by official bodies in the city. She herself has concentrated on solving the family's immediate social problems. According to her, the pressure she and other social workers, who are acquainted with the matter, placed on the Israeli housing ministry besides the news campaign, has forced the ministry to consider a solution. The solution, she explained, would be to give a loan to the family to buy or rent a larger house.

Now Only Anti-PLO Tourists Allowed

Following a recent decision, tourists arriving in the holy land across the Allenby bridge will have to declare whatever money they possess, and sign a pledge that the money is not from the PLO or that they do not plan to give it to a "PLO support organisation in the occupied territories," according to Israeli daily **Haaretz**.

The Israeli journal confirmed reports from visiting tourists and said that the purpose of this new procedure was to stop "Arabs carrying European or American passports from carrying money to individuals or organisations supporting the Palestine Liberation Organisation."

A spokesman for the Israeli tourism ministry denied any knowledge of the new procedure which affects only tourists entering via the bridge, but sources in the West Bank 'civil administration' assured an Israeli journalist that the procedure has been put into effect and that special forms have been prepared.

The Israeli authorities have placed very strict controls regarding all money entering the West Bank and Gaza Strip, demanding from the carrier a complete breakdown on the source of the funds and their destination. Individuals are banned from bringing in more than JD1000.

HAGOP KAPLANYAN

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Some Golan Druze Take Israeli ID After Year of Pressure

With reluctance, and after strong Israeli pressure for over a year, Druze in the Golan Heights have begun accepting ID cards, Salman Natour, head of the Galilee-based Druze Initiative Committee told **Al Fajr**.

According to Natour, only the approximately 100 teachers who want to work have taken the Israeli ID cards. "This does not mean that they have accepted Israeli citizenship," Natour stressed.

Israel annexed the Golan Heights in December 1981. Since then there has been steady confrontation between the authorities and residents of four Druze villages. From March to August there was a general strike in the villages.

According to reports from the Golan, this week, Druze residents are still boycotting Muhsen Abu Saleh and his followers. Abu Saleh is accused locally of cooperating with the Israeli authorties before, during and after the strike.

Israel Koenig, the Israeli interior ministry's northern representative, claimed February 4, at a ceremony where 21 Druze received Israeli citizenship, that 99 percent of the population have taken the cards. Natour told **Al Fajr** that the authorities have refused to appoint teachers, issue car licenses or to accept students at universities unless they take the Israeli ID card. None of 21 new 'Israelis' agreed to be interviewed.

Many are said to have taken citizenship to enhance employment prospects. Israeli construction companies are also said to have refused to give work to ID-less Druze. A month ago, however, a group representing Golan Heights workers issued a press release, stating: "there is no change in our attitude toward refusing Israeli citizenship."

SECURITY COUNCIL MEETS

ISRAEL CONDEMNED

The UN Security Council reconvened, February 11, to discuss escalating Israeli military oppression in the occupied Palestinian territories and in South Lebanon. The PLO urged members of the Security Council to reconvene to discuss Israeli military policies in the occupied territories and to consider adopting a new resolution that would strongly condemn these Israeli violations of the human, civil and personal rights of the Palestinian people and call on Israel to immediately desist and cease these military measures and policies. A number of delegations spoke at the Security Council expressing international condemnation of these Israeli measures and expressing strong support for the Palestinian people.

On the other hand, in response to some reports about PLO recognition of Israel, a Palestinian spokesperson at the UN said that the issue is the recognition of Palestinian rights and the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish an independent Palestinian state on their land. The PLO position is clear: it is that there should be an independent Palestinian state on any part of Palestine liberated or evacuated by the Israeli army. This Palestinian position has been fully endorsed by the UN and this position is the most practical way to achieve a real and lasting peace in the Middle East.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Israeli tank in Aley (telephoto)

February 16, 1983

CURFEW I

A curfew was imposed on the village of Beit Ula in the Hebron district after the car of an Israeli settler who had come to survey land there was pushed into a nearby valley. The settler had parked his car by the side of the road and left to survey nearby hills. When he returned an hour later, he found his car in the valley.

SLOGANEERS FINED

JENIN — The Israeli military court sentenced three youths to six months suspended imprisonment and fined them IS6000 each after convicting them of writing nationalist slogans on walls.

Jawad Jamal Saqallah, 16, Khalil Ali Zghaibi, 17, and Abd al-Aziz Qabalani, 15, were held at Fara'a detention camp near Jenin for four days after arrest on charges of writing "inflamatory slogans" on the walls. The trial of a fourth youth, Amjad Bashir Saqallah, was postponed.

HUNGER STRIKE

TEL AVIV — Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners at Neve Tirtze womens prison held a one-day hunger strike to protest living conditions inside the prison and the continued detention of Palestinian women in Lebanon. Forty-eight women went on strike, including eight from Lebanon.

The Israeli Committee Against the War in Lebanon issued a statement calling on the authorities to release the women prisoners.

SLOGANEERS JAILED

BEIT JALA — The Ramallah military court sentenced Ibrahim Jabra Nur, Johnny Michael Awad and Khadr Wahbeh Mussleh from Beit Jala to four years imprisonment and two years suspended for demonstrating and writing nationalist slogans. It cleared them of charges of throwing a molotov cocktail at an Israeli bus in Beit Jala.

The court found Johnny Yaacoub Abu Awad, William Khoury Elias Sha'ir, Joseph Benyamin Elias Andraos Amia and Khadr Yaacoub Abu Abara guilty of the same charge and sentenced them to six years imprisonment.

CELL JAILED

GAZA — Jamal Abd al-Nasser Abu Jabal and Ali Said Ibrahim Dasouqi were sentenced to 15 years and nine years respectively; Ali Foudh Ahmed Za'aniin was sentenced to six years and Ali Atieh Abd al-Atih Za'aniin to four years when they were all found guilty of possessing weapons, undergoing military training and membership.

YOUTHS ARRESTED

NABLUS — The police arrested Abd al-Nasser Sharaiyeh, 16, and Mahmoud Ibrahim Jabara, 17, from Balata refugee camp on a charge of attempting to set fire to a vehicle.

STONES IN NABLUS

According to Israel radio Hebrew service, demonstrators in Nablus threw stones at an Israeli vehicle.

CAMP RAIDED I

GAZA STRIP — Israeli forces raided Bureij refugee camp in the Gaza Strip and searched houses and confiscated the ID cards of several residents after gunshots were heard in the camp. Reports from the Gaza Strip say that Israeli soldiers patrolled the streets, stopped residents, checked ID cards and searched them.

MOLOTOV MEANS CURFEW II

A molotov cocktail was thrown at an Israeli bus on the way to Dutan settlement near Jenin. Israeli forces then imposed a curfew on the village of Arabeh and combed the area.

BOMB IN BEIRUT

BEIRUT — Two people were killed and three wounded when a car exploded in the Antilias mountains north of Beirut. According to Phalangist radio, the explosion took place near a petrol station, setting a number of cars alight.

LAND GRAB APEAL

JERUSALEM — The military appeals committee has heard the appeal of 16 residents from Walajeh village in the Bethlehem district against the confiscation of 1400 dunums. The land has been inhabited by 50 families for hundreds of years.

CAMP RAID II

BEIRUT — Israeli forces surrounded the eastern entrance of Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp near Sidon and began a wide-scale search of the camp area.

COUNCIL APPOINTMENT

BIR NABALA — The Israeli authorities are trying to appoint a village council in Bir Nabala village in the Ramallah area. The authorities informed the villagers of their intention. Municipalities in the West Bank have been dissolved for refusing to cooperate with the civil administration.

February 17, 1983

TWO ISRAELIS INJURED

TEL AVIV — Two Israelis from Lydda received gunshot wounds when unidenitified assailants opened fire on them as they were travelling near Tarqoumia in the Hebron district.

TWO SOLDIERS KILLED

TEL AVIV — According to the Israeli military spokesman, two soldiers were killed and others wounded when guerillas opened fire on the vehicle in which they were travelling in the Ain Zhalta region in the Shouf mountains.

NEW SETTLEMENTS

TEL AVIV — Israeli radio reported that Israel intends to establish 15 military observation posts in the West Bank in strategic areas. No futher details were given.

MAJOR ATTACK

BEIRUT — Lebanese resistance forces announced an attack on an Israeli military base and the headquarters of the military governor in Nabatiyeh, South Lebanon. The attack, which lasted for half-an-hour, included medium weapons and RPG rockets.

DEATH SENTENCES

ANKARA — A Turkish court has sentenced to death the four Palestinians who attacked the Egyptian embassy in Ankara in 1979. The attack followed then-president Sadat's signing of the Camp David accords and a separations of forces agreement with Israel

JOURNALISTS FOR THE PALESTINIANS

CAIRO — A four day conference of journalists from non-aligned countries called for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO and the the withdrawal of Israeli and foreign forces from Lebanon.

NEW MOSCOW REP

Rami Sha'ir presented his credentials as head of the PLO office in Moscow to the Soviet foreign ministry. Rami is the son of Mohammad Sha'ir, previous PLO representative, who died last month. The 29-year-old engineer studied in the Soviet Union and then worked as the PLO military attache in Moscow until taking up his new post.

CRIPPLED

A youth from the village of Mashhad near Nazareth lost both legs after stepping on a land mine in the Himmeh region.

CURFEW OFF, FOOD IN

Food was sent into Dhahriyeh after an 18-day curfew was lifted. Hebron municipality sent rice, butter, sugar and tea to help poor families.

STONING INCIDENT

TULKARM — Stones were thrown at Israeli military vehicles in the centre of the city. Stores in the market closed for an hour as Israeli soldiers chased youths and confiscated the ID cards of several passers-by. They were ordered to pick them up from the military compound.

TRIPS TO JORDAN ALLOWED

RAMALLAH — The military authorities have allowed city residents under the age of 45 to travel to Jordan. They have been prohibited from doing so for the past two months. The Israeli authorities have also lifted the six month ban imposed on the village of Silwad.

NABLUS VOLUNTARY WORK

NABLUS — The 'Committee of 76' voluntary work organisation held a day of voluntary work in the old quarter of Nablus after garbage had accumulated there because of the erection of iron gates at its entrances by the Israelis. The committee, with the participation of 35 volunteers, cleaned up many areas and called on other committees to prevent the spread of disease.

HISTADRUT MONOPOLY MAINTAINED

HAIFA — The central court has issued an order to prevent Bari-Naim company in Hadera and four tradesmen from the West Bank from distributing humus, tehina and *fuul*. This was based

Committee Against the War in Lebanon demonstrates in Tel Aviv, February 12, after Kahan Commission findings were released. Banner calls for Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon.

on an appeal from Blueband-Telma company.

VILLAGE ACTIVIST JAILED

The military court in Ramallah sentenced Abdullah Awdeh Ahmad Rujoub to five years imprisonment and two and a half years suspended after finding him guilty of "undertaking activities harmful to his village and neighbouring villages". Rujoub is a former member of Dura municipality. Israel radio said it is expected that other persons will be brought to trial on the same charge.

REFUSNIK JAILED

Yesh Gvul (There is a Limit) movement announced that a reserve soldier has been sentenced to 30 days imprisonment for refusing to patrol the Kiryat Arba settlement. He has already served 35 days on the same charge.

The movement demands the recognition of the moral right of soldiers to refuse to serve outside the 'Green Line' especially in the light of the recently published orders of Chief of Staff Raphael Eitan to harass and illtreat Arab students and their families in the West Bank.

February 18, 1983

TANK HIT

TEL AVIV, BEIRUT — The Israeli military spokesman confirmed that an Israeli tank was hit by rocket fire yesterday morning during an attack against an Israeli military patrol in Aley. He added that the Israeli forces immediately began a wide-scale search to find the attackers.

CAR MISSED

JERUSALEM — A molotov cocktail was thrown at an Israeli vehicle near the Dung Gate in Jerusalem. Israeli forces surrounded and searched the area.

ANSARIS APPEAL TO PNC

ALGERIA — The PNC has recieved a letter from Ansar detention camp in South Lebanon where the Israeli authorities have been holding over 5000 Palestinians and Lebanese. The letter confirmed the support of the detainees for the decisions taken by the PNC during its current session.

AGRICULTURALIST HELD

TEL AVIV — Israel radio reported that Ziad Yunis, the head of the Agricultural Produce Marketing Society in Tulkarm has been arrested. The radio added that the above mentioned will face a charge of participating in demonstrations, throwing stones and "inciting others to violate security."

BUS HIT

A molotov cocktail was thrown at an Israeli bus near Sultan's Pool in Jerusalem. Minor damage was caused to the bus. Troops and police carried out a wide-scale search of the area.

RAIN HIT DEMO

The spokesperson for the Israeli Labour Party said that the huge demonstration which the opposition party intended to hold in Tel Aviv was postponed because of bad weather.

PRISONERS DEMAND

Security prisoners at Hebron prison have complained of hard and inhumane treatment, bad food and insufficient blankets for the cold weather. They have demanded that those responsible carry out an investigation.

TRADESMEN TO PROTECT SOLDIERS?

The military governor of Nablus summoned tradesmen of Hatiim Street and talked with them about the iron gates put up by the Israeli army and the financial damage they have incurred. He asked them for guarantees in return for the gates being removed. The merchants however informed the army that they could not provide security.

CLUB OPENED

Khadr Kubri, the new manager of UNRWA in the Nablus area, at the head of a delegation of UNRWA officials opened Balata refugee camp youth centre after the authorities gave permission for it to be reopened.

BRIDGE OPENED

The Israeli authorities have allowed residents of Balata to travel to Amman after forbidding them to do so for two weeks.

February 19, 1983

NO PARKING

BEIRUT: AFP — Car drivers will no longer be able to stop by the road sides in areas in Lebanon occupied by the Israeli forces. Israeli soldiers set fire to and destroyed two cars south of Beirut in the past two days.

The first incident occurred yesterday in Kfar Sheima, six kilometers south of Beirut. The car driver, who works at a gas and water company, left his small transport vehicle which had suddenly broken down at the road side and went to find a mechanic to fix it. When he returned, he found only burnt metal. Israeli soldiers said they believed it was booby-trapped and blew it up.

The second incident happened in Damour, 17 kilometers south of Beirut. The passengers of the car had gone shopping.

HEALTH WORK

JERICHO: AL AWJA — The Medical Relief Committee of the workers union and employees of the Makassed Islamic Charitable Society in Jerusalem held a medical work day in al-Awja village treating 150 patients and handing out free medication.

Youths from the village club helped the four-person medical team.

CURFEW

BETHLEHEM — Dheisheh refugee camp continues under curfew. Residents were allowed out for two hours two days ago to go shopping.

NEW SETTLEMENTS

Israeli newspapers report that a new settlement, called 'Upper Nablus,' is to be established soon.

The settlement town is to be built on Mount Jerzim near Nablus. It will cover an area of 150 dunums and will extend to the Palestinian village of Burein.

ANTI-ARENS PROTEST

Israeli police arrested Pinhas Baroush, 58, from Tel Aviv on charges of threatening to kill Mr. Arens if he is appointed defence minister in place of Ariel Sharon.

NETUREI KARTA VISIT

Two rabbis from Neturei Karta have asked the *mufti* of Jerusalem for permission to enter the West Bank to visit places holy to Jews there. Rabbi Hirsch, head of the group's foreign relations in Jerusalem, handed the request to the *mufti*.

Reports state that the rabbis are unable to enter the West Bank on orders from their leader in New York who has forbidden them to enter without official permission.

The group's leaders are preparing a request to send to Yasir Arafat, head of the executive committee of the PLO, to get permission for members of the group to enter the West Bank to visit holy places.

LEAGUERS JOIN SETTLERS

Israel radio said yesterday that heads of Tulkarm, Jenin and Nablus (sic) Village Leagues visited Beit Hashita settlement. The radio said that the heads of these leagues asserted their intention and determination to continue their activities despite the opposition of "terrorists". An agreement was concluded to hold more such meetings.

February 20, 1983

NO HOUSE DESTRUCTION

The Israeli High Court has issued an injunction preventing the destruction or closure of houses belonging to four Dhahriyeh residents, recently imprisoned on a charge of throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

BOMB IN DAMOUR

A booby-trapped car exploded near an Israeli military patrol as it drove past a restuarant in Damour, south Beirut. There were no Israeli injuries. The driver of the Lebanese energy minister, who was passing at the time, was injured and taken to a hospital.

CURFEW III

NABLUS — The military authorities imposed a curfew on the old city this afternoon after a number of persons removed the iron gates erected by the authorities to separate the city entrance from Hussein Square.

AMBASSADOR DIES

BEIRUT: UPI — The Lebanese police discovered the body of the Japanese ambassador and his driver in their car in the Beqa'a Valley. They had frozen to death. A police spokesman said the two died when their car broke down in a heavy snowfall.

CRIMINAL SHOOTING

An unidentified person opened fire on a 36-year-old money changer in Tel Aviv, seriously wounding him. Police sources said two other people were wounded by gun shots of the type used by the Israeli "underworld."

FRENCH MARINE DIES

BEIRUT: AFP — A spokesperson for the leader of the French unit attached to the multi-national force said that a 20-year-old Fench soldier was killed yesterday in Beirut. The source said that the French soldier was killed accidentally while cleaning his weapon.

HUNGER STRIKE IN LONDON

LONDON — Members of the British Palestine Solidarity Committee began a three-day hunger strike in Trafalgar Square in solidarity with Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners being held in Israeli prisons.

Jeremy Landor, a member of the committee, said that the Solidarity Committee is to launch a one-month information campaign on the inhumane practices of the Israeli occupation forces against Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners.

GUERILLAS GET HELP

TEL AVIV — *Haaretz*, Israeli Hebrew daily, said that cooperation between Lebanese living near the Beirut-Damascus road and Palestinian guerillas has increased and that the families are giving them refuge.

The paper asserted that Israeli occupation forces have arrested a number of Druse residents on charges of cooperating with the guerillas.

February 21, 1983

35 HELD

GAZA — The army arrested 35 students from the Hashemite School on the pretext that stones were thrown at a military vehicle. They were released after questioning.

HITTING POLICE

The Israeli police defused an explosive device found by the wife of a policeman outside their house. News reports state that unidentified persons have recently repeatedly slashed the tyres of the officer's car and have been threatening him. The officer works in the Galilee area.

NO HEATING FOR COMMUNITY

The Israeli authorities have issued an order against owners of petrol stations on the main road near Dheisheh camp, forbidding them from selling kerosene to camp residents for heating. There is speculation that the order has been issued to pressure residents. There have been repeated incidents of Israeli cars being stoned from the camp for several years.

Meanwhile, a curfew on the camp and on Artas and Khader imposed six days ago was lifted. The curfew was imposed after an Israeli vehicle was fired at on the Dheisheh-Khader road.

BUS ATTACKED

TEL AVIV — Israel radio reported that a bazooka rocket and guns were fired at an Israeli military bus as it passed north of Sidon in South Lebanon. The radio claimed that no one was hurt and that no damage was caused to the bus.

ANSAR BLAZE

According to testimony received by *Haaretz* detainees set fire to two blocks of tents and their contents at Ansar detention camp, South Lebanon. *Haarezt* reported that a mutiny had occured recently and that eyewitnesses said that one detainee set a tent on fire.

February 22, 1983

SECURELY FINED

The military court in Nablus sentenced Omar Shaloub to six months imprisonment and fined him IS7500 after finding him guilty of security offences.

MAYOR DIES

RAFAH — A funeral was held in Rafah for former mayor Saleh Z'ourab. He was 90-years-old. A large number of residents, institution and society members attended.

LEVINGER WANTS BLOOD

Hundreds of settlers from Kiryat Arba demonstrated at Dhahriyeh, one week after the death of an Israeli woman who was hit by a stone there.

Rabbi Moshe Levinger from Kiryat Arba has called for the death of those who kill Jews.

At the commemoration service which was also attended by settlers from Beisan, the head of Beisan settlement council said that the settlers of Beisan and Kiryat Arba had sworn a blood pact.

Israeli troops imposed a curfew on Dhahriyeh while the commemoration was being held. Settlers raised slogans against the Arabs including, "Do not allow them free movement in our streets," and, "We must carry arms to reach Jerusalem."

NO REASON FOR ARREST

JENIN — The Israeli authorities arrested Sami Kilani from the village of Ya'abad, teacher at Najah University who is still under town restriction orders, Ahmed Zaki 'Ard from 'Arabeh village, a student at Najah, and Said Hassan Hamdan Ghazawi. The reasons are unknown.

MEMBERSHIP = JAIL

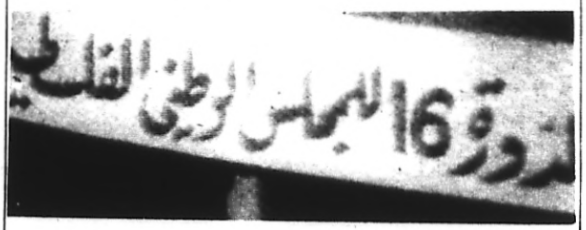
RAMALLAH — The military court sentenced Dr. Samir Abu Ghosh to six months imprisonment, of which five are effective, after finding him guilty of membership charges.

CHILDREN WOUNDED

KHAN YUNIS — Two children were wounded in the Qarara region and were taken to Nasser hospital. After investigation, it appeared that the two had stumbled on an old land mine which exploded.

Italian Delegate on PNC Meeting:

"The Gun and The Intellect" Parallel Strategy of Palestinian Struggle



The Italian delegation to the Palestine National Council was headed by Giancarlo Pajetta, a long-time leader of the Italian Communist Party, president of its foreign affairs commission and a member of the Italian parliament foreign affairs committee. The delegation also included a Socialist deputy and a Christian Democratic senator. Giancarlo Pajetta spent many years in prison under the Fascist regime and after Mussolini's fall became a major leader in the armed resistance movement in Italy and a member of the national restoration committee. A close friend and supporter of the Algerian resistance against the French, of Egyptian president Gamal Abd al-Nasser and later of the PLO and Yasir Arafat, he has followed developments in the Arab world for many years. He gave Al Fajr's Rome Correspondent, Livia Rokach, the following interview on his return from the PNC meeting in Algiers:

Al Fajr: You have been following the Palestinian people's struggle for many years now. Would you say that in this post-Beirut PNC, Palestinian strategy has been modified, and if so in what sense?

A: No, the strategic line has not been modified. It remains the same one and continues to have as its ultimate goal the achievement of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and statehood in Palestine. It is also part of the strategic line that these goals must be achieved through resistance — resistance is the only means for the people to express itself and, above all, to survive — and also by means of negotiations, through the largest possible network of international connections and the support of large international bodies such as the UN — in as much as these are not paralysed by Reagan's veto and the like.

It seems to me important to underline that their strategic line, aiming to include the widest possible recognition and support from the popular masses and from major international bodies for the goal of the struggle, is actually acquiring an evergrowing consent among world opinion. From this point of view, the PNC in Algiers can be considered a great success. This can also be deduced from the unprecedented consent, support and solidarity that the large number of delegations present in Algiers representing world mass movements, political forces and also governments, have expressed, after and despite the painful evacuation from Beirut. Two main guidleines appeared very clearly at the PNC meeting. These are the unity of the Palestinians within the PLO and the determination to realise the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. Unfortunately what was missing in Algiers as well, was *Arab unity*, an indispensible factor for the Palestinian struggle.

Al Fajr: The large participation of foreign observers and delegations was, as you have said, a sign of interest and solidarity of world opinion. At the same time, however, did it not constitute an impediment or an obstacle to a more serious and profound internal discussion among the Palestinian parties and trends themselves, at this particularly difficult and sensitive juncture of the struggle?

A: As a foreign delegate, I can only say that the unprecedentedly large number of external observers and guests were deeply impressed by the debate which took place in the assembly because it was not just a formal debate, but a sincere one, with many contrasts and moments of sharp tension. In this sense it was a demonstration of force such as perhaps few political parties in the Western democracies have dared to undertake. It shows a capacity to both debate the questions which must be debated and make an effort to present these questions to the world and to try to gain understanding.

For us — those who were there from outside the Palestinian movement — this PNC meeting gave a feeling of the strength of the movement. Such a movement is capable of maintaining a fundamental unity along with, despite and beyond the differences of opinion which do exist and may be acute. It gave us a feeling of the strength of the movement which, thanks to a unity not based on fictitious unanimity, is also capable of resisting outside pressures, especially those Arab pressures which were openly admitted by almost all the PNC members who participated in the debate. In fact, one of the most frequently repeated slogans in the PNC seemed to be: "Yes to Arab solidarity, no to Arab domination and interference."

Al Fajr: You said before that the PLO strategic line has remained firm after the PNC. Strategic streadfastness then, along with tactical practicality?

A: I believe that steadfastness should always be demonstrated by a capacity to "make politics", that is to act politically, to confront the issues in a non-purely rhetorical manner. I said it in Algiers and I hope my Palestinian friends did not consider it an interference. One basic fault of the conduct of previous Palestinian propaganda and political action was to too frequently reject offers which no one had really made to them. In this way those who did not, and do not, offer them any solution could use this a priori rejection as a kind of alibi.

Al Fajr: In your address to the assembly you expressed a wish to see the Palestinian struggle as an association of "the gun and the intellect." What did you mean by this?

A: This seems to me in harmony not only with what was said, by Arafat, Abu Iyad and Kaddoumi, but also by what was said in the private talks that I had with Hawatmeh and Habash. In fact, what they told me in private greatly contrasted with the oratorical rhetoric which seemed to transport them off their feet when they made their speeches. There was virtually nothing but contradictions between the public speeches and the very reasonable arguments which they used in private conversations.

Al Fajr: Did you pose any questions about these contradictions?

A: Yes, I did. Their answers expressed a definite will for unity and realistic argument. For this reason, I believe that the unity achieved and expressed by the PNC was not just formal and is going to remain.

Al Fajr: How do you see the application of this unified line in the future?

A: What is happening is that the collective face of the Palestinian people, their peace initiatives and negotiations, are being curtailed. When such initiatives are undertaken by others, such as the European countries, Austrian Chancellor Kreisky for example, even in the most cautious way, this is also blocked and denied. But despite this, I think that it is necessary to try to overcome this stage and make efforts to enlarge and widen it with political actions, so as not to give an alibi to Israeli extremism.

Al Fajr: What about the "American option"?

A: Quite rightly, in the PNC there was denunciation of US support for Israel, and the general degeneration of US policy in the international arena beyond the Palestinian issue. But here too, I think that the US should be forced to see itself and its policies conditioned by international reaction, by changes in public opinion, by some changes which are already taking place, through what is happening in Egypt for example. The presence of an Egyptian delegation of 100 persons was not only the expression of great support by popular opinion for the Palestinian cause, but also a manifestation of the fact that this opinion is having weight on government decisions. If there were no public pressure on the Mubarak government, and if his government did not have to take into consideration public pressure, the 100 persons in the delegation would not have been there.

Arab Progressives Bring Messages of Solidarity to PNC

As well as dealing with the business of the Palestinian people, the Palestine National Council sessions offer a unique forum for the democratic expression of Arab dissident opinion. The second day of the current PNC was given over to foreign delegates bearing solidarity messages and giving assessments of the struggles in their countries.

The Lebanese National Movement (LNM) was represented by Goerge Hawi of the Lebanese Communist Party. The Lebanese delegation was one of the largest at the council and included LNM leader Walid Jumblatt. Hawi was frequently interrupted by applause as he reviewed the joint struggle of the past summer and went on to report on the Lebanese resistance, "since you left us."

"Our struggle against Israeli racism and occupation is continuing," he said. Hawi spoke bitterly about the Arabs who left Lebanese progressive forces and the Palestinians to fight alone in Beirut.

Hawi said that the departure of the Palestinians from Lebanon left many Lebanese in mourning and made the massacre at Sabra and Shatila possible. He criticised the Lebanese government for not bringing to justice those who perpetrated the massacre. Hawi added his voice to critics of the Reagan plan. He asked delegates to reject any American solution "as a pre-condition for any sound solution."

The recent activities of the Egyptian Nationalist Movement were described by Khalid Muhieddin. He began his address saluting the Palestinian guerillas: "You taught us in the Arab world how to fight." He assured the PNC that "the proud Egyptian people" would stand with the Palestinians until a state was established on Palestinian soil. Muhieddin said he was aware of the debate about a possible Palestinian rapprochement with the present Egyptian regime adding, "but it is up to Egypt to prove its stand regarding the Palestinian issue and it is not, as has been said, up to the PLO."

A message from Jordan praised the Palestinians from the occupied territories for their "heroic stand" and criticised the Village Leagues as "the arm of the Israeli occupation forces whose aim is to swallow the occupied territories."

President of South Yemen, Ali Muhammad, sent a message to the PNC announcing that Yemen had "put all its resources and capabilities to the use of the Palestinian fighters and Palestinian objectives."

Each foreign delegate was hugged by PLO chairman Yasir Arafat as they took the podium. Arafat thanked them personally for their stand.

The afternoon session was closed with a long address from Farouq Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's political department. As well as analysing the current international situation, Kaddoumi emphasised the links of the PLO to national liberation movements all over the world "from Angola in Africa to El Salvador in Latin America."